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THE MUSEUM
of
FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES
(Östasiatiska Samlingarna)

STOCKHOLM

*Östasiatiska
samlingarna*



Bulletin N:o 1

Stockholm 1929

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Dr. AXEL LAGRELIUS.
Founder of the Swedish China Research Committee.

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D E D I C A T I O N

THIS VOLUME IS ISSUED ON THE FIFTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY NINE, THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE SWEDISH CHINA RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

IT IS DEDICATED TO DR. AXEL LAGRELIUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE COMMITTEE, IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THE UNFAILING ENTHUSIASM AND UNTIRING ZEAL WITH WHICH HE HAS PILOTED OUR COLLECTING ENTERPRISE THROUGH THE FROWNS AS WELL AS THE SMILES OF FORTUNE.

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P R E F A C E

When, in the year 1918, an extensive collecting campaign was inaugurated on the foundation of cooperation between the Geological Survey of China and the undersigned, it was suggested by the then director of the Geol. Survey, Dr. V. K. Ting, that all publications based upon the material thus collected should be published in the serials of the Geol. Survey, preferably in the series of monographs edited under the common title *Palaeontologia Sinica*.

In accordance with this arrangement most of the geological field observations, nearly all the fossil vertebrates, and a considerable part of the fossil floras have already been published in the memoirs of the Geological Survey and above all in the *Palaeontologia Sinica*.

Thanks to the very active help of the China Research Committee, which was organized in 1919 for the purpose of supporting my collecting activities, our work was increasingly centred upon archaeological research, a development initiated principally under the influence of the Chairman of the Research Committee, H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, whose profound and active interest in archæology is so well known.

The very extensive prehistoric material from northern China, which was collected by me under the auspices of the Geol. Survey, will be published in a series of monographs in the *Palaeontologia Sinica*, two volumes of these archaeological monographs being in fact well advanced.

After my return to Sweden in 1925, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (*Östasiatiska Samlingarna*) was organized with the aid of Government funds in order to facilitate this archaeological research.

Thanks to the untiring and exceedingly active support of the Research Committee, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities has during the last few years been richly endowed with precious gifts, specially of small bronzes dating from early Chinese dynasties and originating to a considerable extent from the famous collections of Sirén, Karlbeck, and Lo Chen-yü.

In order to get these treasures of early Chinese art scientifically studied and described, the Museum had to call upon the cooperation of learned colleagues such as Umehara, Arne, Olov Janse, and others. In this way there has developed a small group of scholars who recognize our Museum as a centre for the study of Far Eastern Archaeology. Within this narrow circle of friends and collaborators there has been repeatedly expressed the need of a scientific organ for publishing such monographs on early Chinese bronzes and other articles emanating from this institute as could not be accommodated in the *Palaeontologia*

Sinica. In order to meet this need, there came into being the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, the first volume of which is herewith presented to the scientific reader.

Our grateful thanks are specially extended to three contributors from the Far East.

First I want to mention Mr. Chou Chao-hsiang, formerly director of the Art Museum in Peking. On the occasion of the visit to Peking of Their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess of Sweden in the autumn of 1926, Mr. Chou not only rendered the treasures of the Art Museum accessible to the royal visitors in a most courteous manner, but he also invited the Crown Prince to examine, in his private home, an interesting collection of early historic pottery. When reviewing this material, the Crown Prince expressed the hope to see it published. The article emanating from Mr Chou's hand was kindly presented to me to be published in this Bulletin in order to meet the wish expressed by H. R. H. the Crown Prince.

During the stay in Peking of our Crown Prince and Crown Princess in October—November 1926, M. G. Bouillard, Engineer-in-chief of the Chinese railways and an unrivaled authority on the historic topography of Peking, kindly undertook to act as archaeological guide to Their Royal Highnesses. This task he performed in such a distinguished way that he was asked by the Crown Prince to publish, together with a short text, the excellent maps with which he had interpreted the history of Peking. It gives me special pleasure to express to this distinguished and untiring student of the historical topography of Peking area my sincere thanks for his contribution to this volume.

Since it became known to my Chinese friends that our distinguished sinologue Professor B. Karlgren of Gothenburg had become associated with the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, my dear friend Dr. V. K. Ting sent me a note on the language of the Chuang people in Northern Kuangsi, about which some correspondence ensued between the author and Professor Karlgren. When Dr. Ting kindly allowed me to publish his note in this Bulletin, I accepted his kindness as a new token of his friendship, which meant everything to me during my years in China, and which now forms my most treasured recollection from a singularly happy sojourn in the Far East.

I am authorized by the Swedish China Research Committee to express our sincere gratitude to Captain Henric Westman of Linköping, who, through his generous donation, made possible the publication of this volume.

My personal thanks are due to Dr. Olov Janse who has very efficiently assisted me in editing this volume.

Stockholm on September 15th 1929, the tenth anniversary of the foundation of The Swedish China Research Committee.

J. G. Andersson.

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THE ORIGIN AND AIMS OF THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

BY

J. G. ANDERSSON

Now that it has been decided to issue a publication dealing with the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm in order to give publicity to scientific communications emanating from that institution, for which room cannot be found in the *Palaeontologia Sinica*, it will be advisable to begin by giving an introductory account of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and telling the story of how this institution originated and grew to its present state.

To start at the very beginning, it will be proper to say that those scientific activities of mine as a result of which the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities ultimately came into being, can be traced back to a liking for collecting objects of natural history which manifested itself during my student days in the Palaeozoic terrains of Sweden, and later during the Nathorst expedition to Spitzbergen and King Charles' Land in 1898, my own expedition to Bear Island in 1899, and the Swedish Antarctic Expedition of 1901—1904 under the leadership of Otto Nordenskjöld. During all these field enterprises my research work and collecting activities were entirely centred upon stratigraphic geology and fossils.

When I was appointed Director of the Geological Survey of Sweden in 1906, one of my principal interests was an inquiry into the iron-ore resources of Sweden, a problem which was then prominently in the foreground because of the heated discussions on the government policy dealing with the export of Sweden's uniquely pure and high grade iron-ore. The conduct of the technical side of this inquiry was entrusted to an able young mining geologist, Dr. F. R. Tegen-gren, who will appear once more in this story.

The 11th international geological congress was to meet in Stockholm in 1910, and I was appointed general secretary. In pursuance of our own line of research and in order to give to the work of the congress a more lasting value, the suggestion was made to invite all nations to cooperate in an international inquiry into the iron-ore resources of the world. The invitation issued by our executive committee met with unanimous support, and the final result was two splendid volumes and an atlas, *The Iron-Ore Resources of the World*, embodying contributions made by the foremost experts on iron-ores in the whole world.

I am hardly mistaken in saying that it was largely my activity as organiser of these iron-ore inquiries that led the Chinese Government to invite me to

cooperate with the then recently established Geological Survey of China investigating the mineral resources — principally the iron-ores and the deposits — of the Chinese republic. From the very beginning of my service in China I was ably supported by my friend and collaborator from Sweden, I. Tegengren, and by Professor E. T. Nyström, who had initiated the employment in China of Swedish geologists.

When I arrived at Peking in May 1914, I found myself happily placed in the midst of a prolific field of nascent geological activities.

When the revolution of 1911—1912 broke out, Mr. H. T. Chang had suggested the establishment of a section of geology within the Department of Mines, and he was appointed director of this — the first — geological institute established by the Chinese Government.

Upon the removal of the central government to Peking, the directorship of the section of geology of the Department of Mines passed into the hands of Dr. V. K. Ting.

When it was planned by Messrs. Chang and Ting to begin extensive geological field researches, a serious difficulty was encountered in that there was a total lack of experienced field geologists.

In a program for systematic geological field-work in China Mr. Chang had proposed the establishment of a school for the training of surveying geologists, and this school was organized in September 1913, with Mr. Chang as director.

The pupils were selected from among the students passing out of the middle schools, and the aim of the enterprise was to afford these young men a course of three years' intensive training in the subjects necessary to a field geologist. It will be noted that this "Geological School" boldly transformed university training as it was then given, and the eminent success of the experiment will commend it to the interest of all who in other countries have tried to solve by different methods the difficult problem of recruiting a body of field geologists.

The teachers of the Geological School were mostly officials in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, who, for nearly three years, perseveringly carried on these courses voluntarily and without any remuneration. Within an official class which was not infrequently spoken of with contempt by foreign writers as being devoid of patriotic sentiments, this patient and unostentatious work certainly stands out as a piece of splendid patriotism. It is a pleasure to record how these representatives of Young China quietly but zealously worked for years to teach a still younger generation how to open up their immense country for geological research, and it gives me special satisfaction to pay this tribute to the teachers of the Geological School, which is no longer in existence because it has fully accomplished its object of giving the Geological Survey of China its first staff of efficient field men.

I well recall those courses, which during the later terms were held in the premises of the present Geological Survey, where I also had my office. At every

hour of the day the bell rang for a change of teachers, and often, when I arrived to begin my day's work, I met one or other of my Chinese friends, who had just finished his first hour's teaching for the day and was on his way to his routine work in some office of the Ministry.

Besides Mr. Chang, the founder of the school, and Dr. Ting, the first director of the Geological Survey, I wish especially to mention among the teachers Dr. W. H. Wong, the present director of the National Geological Survey, a charming man and a distinguished scientist, who, during the last few exceedingly critical years, has, with untiring patience and unflinching tact, successfully piloted the Survey through many dangerous places.

Another most noteworthy member of the staff of the Geological School was Mr. Chang Yi-ou. He was the first director of the Department of Mines, a position so eminent that a holder of such rank in title-ridden Europe would hardly dream of condescending to become a teacher of youth. Yet, in this land of ceremonies and formalism, this high mandarin, in rank next to a Minister of State, proceeded quietly and unostentatiously to his classes in metallurgy.

The subjects of study in the school were selected for the sole purpose of training geologists of the Survey. Besides pure and applied geology, including mineralogy, petrology, and palaeontology, with some short courses in the biological sciences, the program included chemistry, physics, geodetic and topographic surveying, mining methods, the elements of metallurgy, and some study of foreign languages.

The training was conducted not only in the school-room but also in the course of numerous and trying field excursions.

When the last term of the school neared its end, I was asked to undertake the examination of the 22 students, and it was agreed that this test should take the shape of an excursion in the Kaiping coal basin, where we stayed ten days. During the first three days we went in one party all over the field, after which each student was given a week's time to examine a selected portion of the region in detail. To some was assigned a mine, to others a special group of strata, and to others again an investigation of the industries based upon the mineral resources of the region.

After having examined the reports resulting from this fieldwork, I had the pleasure, in consultation with the director and the teachers of the school, of recommending the majority of the graduates for promotion to junior posts on the staff of the Geological Survey.

There is no doubt that the Geological School was a marked success, as a considerable number of the graduates have subsequently developed into very able field geologists, forming in fact the back-bone of the junior staff of the Geological Survey.

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During the first year of my work in China, I had the exceptionally good fortune to locate and survey, together with Messrs. C. F. Erikson and E. T. Nyström, an extensive Hsuan Lung iron-ore field in the hilly country north of Peking, an iron-ore region which proved to be one of the most important in China. The exploration has been recorded in its technical aspects by Dr. Tegengren in his monograph *The Iron Ores and Iron Industry of China*, and the story will be told in popular form in my book *China before History*, to be published shortly.

The fieldwork in the Hsuan Lung area was followed with keen interest by President Yuan Shih-kai, and in the spring of 1915 I had an opportunity, under the auspices of the then Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Chou Tzu-chang, of explaining to President Yuan and illustrating by means of maps, sections and numerous specimens, the results of our work on the iron-ore deposits. The meeting, which lasted two hours, remains for me a most remarkable memory because of the deep impression I received of the great strength and penetrating genius of this man, who was then the all-powerful ruler of China. I believe that in some small measure it contributed towards affording President Yuan a clearer understanding of the methods and possibilities of geological research.

The would-be Emperor Yuan desired to enhance the splendor of his accession to the throne by creating a number of modern institutions intended to promote industry and education. Orders in this sense were given to the different ministers and in our Board a number of institutions were planned or established, among them an enlarged Geological Survey with a considerable staff and a budget ample enough to meet the expenses involved. Some of Yuan's innovations did not materialize because of the prolonged political struggle which followed upon his tragic downfall. But the Geological Survey has, first under Dr. Ting's able and determined leadership and subsequently under the patient and resourceful direction of Dr. Wong, not only become an important factor in the development of China's mineral resources, but has besides grown into a scientific institute, the worldwide reputation of which is principally shown by Dr. Ting's splendid creation the *Palaeontologia Sinica*. The arrival in Peking, in 1920, of the famous American geologist and palaeontologist, Dr. A. W. Grabau, as professor of palaeontology in the government university of Peking and palaeontologist to the Chinese Geological Survey, added exceptional strength to the scientific resources of this institution.

Up to the year 1921, my time was mostly devoted to examining and reporting on mineral deposits of various kinds. But the political disintegration and almost continuous civil warfare which followed upon Yuan Shih-kai's death in 1916 and lasted until the nationalistic unification of China in 1928, led to such a state of disruption, and to such an increasing scarcity of funds that my continued technical activities were rendered well-nigh impossible.

Under these circumstances I approached Director Ting with a scheme for collecting fossils, which should be divided between the Geological Survey of



Admiral LOUIS PALANDER af Vega.
The first chairman of the China Research Committee



Professor GUNNAR ANDERSSON

China and various Swedish Museums, on the condition that all the necessary funds should be raised by me in my own country. Readily responding to this appeal, Dr. Ting, with a far-sighted grasp of the situation, outlined the further condition that all publications resulting from the study of these fossil collections should be published in the *Palaeontologia Sinica*.

When this scheme for collecting operations within the domain of natural history was first developed in 1917, I addressed myself to a trusted and able friend of mine, Dr. A. Lagrelius, Chief Intendant at the Swedish Court, who had already, on the occasion of the Antarctic expedition, afforded generous financial assistance to natural history research. My original request involved the raising of 45,000 Swedish crowns for the purpose of collecting zoological specimens, plant fossils, and fossil vertebrates in China. With the swift and decisive action characteristic of Dr. Lagrelius, the reply came in the shape of a telegram announcing that the desired sum would be forthcoming. On this beginning followed a series of untiring and unflinching efforts on the part of Dr. Lagrelius with the object of supporting my ever-growing collecting activities in China.

In order to secure a more stable organization, Dr. Lagrelius invited Admiral Louis Palander of Vega, the famous circumnavigator of the Old World in 1878—1880, and Dr. G. Andersson, Professor of economic geography at the Commercial University College of Stockholm and formerly my companion on the Spitzbergen expedition of 1898, to form the China Research Committee for the purpose of supporting my collecting activities. This Committee was set up on the 15th of September 1919, and the present volume is published to celebrate the 10th anniversary of this still very active organization. The Committee has always consisted of three members only, and at the beginning Admiral Palander acted as chairman and Professor Andersson as secretary. When the old Admiral passed away in 1921, H. R. H. Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden graciously consented to accept the position of chairman of the Committee. After the lamented death of Professor Andersson last year, the secretaryship remained vacant for some time, until quite recently Professor B. Karlgren, of the University of Gothenburg, was elected third member of the Committee.

To-day when the Committee, still bent upon further efforts towards the unravelling of the past of the Far East, enters upon its second decade, it is a matter of special rejoicing that Dr. Lagrelius, the founder of the Committee and its permanent treasurer, stands in our midst with undiminished vitality, and it gives me a special pleasure to dedicate this volume to the man who has, foremost of all, been the financial organizer of the achievements which we celebrate.

As my collecting activities in China expanded in various directions, my claims upon the kind support of the Research Committee in Stockholm grew continuously, and at the present day the total sum provided by the Committee amounts to no less than 857,651 Swedish crowns.

Dr. Lagrelius not only organized the whole financial scheme but was himself one of the main contributors. A full list of all our donors is given on the dedication page of this volume. Five names stand out prominently, namely Mr. H. Westman and Mr. J. G. Vennersten, who both very actively supported us from the outset, Mr. I. Kreuger, who generously paid for the printing of the Swedish contributions to the *Palaeontologia Sinica*, and the two brothers Dr. E. Hultmark and Mr. R. Hultmark, who have of recent years been our chief donors.

The very beginning of my collecting activities dates back to my first excursion in 1914 to the Chai T'ang coal-field, where I made a large collection of the beautiful Jurassic plants which fill the sandstones and shales accompanying the coal-seams.

I spent the spring of 1916 in surveying the copper-ores of southern Shansi. When this task was accomplished, I had reached Yuan Chü Hsien, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. Early on the 16th of June I was to cross the river on my homeward journey via Honan and the Lung Hai railway. The river-bank forms a cliff about 10 metres high, consisting of soft marly rocks overlaid by loess. During the few minutes which it took to transfer the pack-animals to the ferry-boat, I hurriedly filled all available containers with the tiny but beautiful shells which cover the bedding-planes of the marl.

This small collection exerted a strong fascination. Later when the skilful and careful work of Dr. N. Hj. Odhner revealed that in those shells we had met the first proof of the existence of Eocene beds in China, I made up my mind to undertake a systematic study of the Cenozoic deposits of northern China and the fossils contained therein.

In the early spring of 1918, I was told by Mr. J. McGregor Gibb, Professor of Chemistry at the Peking University of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, of the occurrence of fossil bones near Chou K'ou Tien, the terminus of the Liu Li Ho-Chou K'ou Tien branch line of the Peking-Hankow railway.

I visited the deposit and found it to consist of a small pillar of red clay, apparently a former fissure filling, containing bones of birds and small mammals. I have published a brief description of this bone deposit in "*Geografiska Annaler*", Stockholm 1919, pp. 265—268. The find was in itself of very slight significance, but it was my first departure in the sphere of fossil vertebrate collecting in China and, as will be shown below, some years later it resulted in a far more important discovery in the immediate vicinity.

In June 1917, on behalf of the Geological Survey, I addressed a circular letter to missionaries and others who might be expected to take an interest in scientific research. This circular explained at some length the significance of the so-called *lung ku* and *lung ya* of the Chinese pharmacopœa, bones and teeth of fossils, mostly Tertiary mammals, which have since ancient times been excavated in the interior of China. The letter ended with an appeal to all who were interested to inform the Geological Survey of any indication of fossil mammals.

Specially valuable reports were received from some of the Swedish missionaries in Honan, such as Rev. R. Andersson in Honanfu, Rev. M. Ringberg in Mien Chih, and above all Miss Maria Pettersson, a missionary in Hsin An. Following up the indications thus secured, I paid a visit to those places in Honan in the late autumn of 1918, and succeeded, principally thanks to the very able support of Miss Pettersson, in locating two very rich finds of Pliocene mammals, namely Shang Yin Kou in Hsin An Hsien and Lan Kou in Mien Chih Hsien. During the same journey some mammal bones were discovered in the Pleistocene loess.

By means of inquiries in the medicine shops in Peking, we had learnt that an important medicine market was being held in Chichou, S of Paotingfu, and, in order to make inquiries about dragon bones, Mr. H. T. Lee, one of the young geologists of the Geological Survey, went on my behalf to this provincial town in May 1918, and succeeded in obtaining the very important information that one of the main centres for collecting the "dragon bones" was Pao Te Hsien, in NW Shansi on the Yellow River. Following up this clue, in the summer of the said year, I sent two of my collectors, Yao and Chang, to Pao Te Hsien. Their main quest was a complete failure, as the "dragon bones" are not dug in summer. But when passing through Taiyuanfu, the provincial capital of Shansi, they found only 5 km E of this city, at the small village of Chen Chia Yü, plant-bearing rocks which have subsequently proved to be one of the finest sources of fossil plants in Eastern Asia. In the specimens brought home by Yao and Chang I at once identified the very remarkable plant *Gigantopteris nicotianaefolia*, originally discovered by Richthofen in Hunan and described by Schenk in 1883. The preservation of this plant and its numerous associates was so good that I judged the field to be a very promising one for phyto-palaeontological research.

At that time there resided in Taiyuanfu, as the guest of the "Nyström Institute for Scientific Research in Shansi" Mr. E. Norin, a young Swedish geologist who had already distinguished himself by his fine account of some alkaline igneous rocks. I suggested to Mr. Norin that he should undertake a detailed stratigraphic investigation of the Permo-Carboniferous formation of Central Shansi, for the special purpose of collecting fossil plants within well-defined geological horizons. This scheme was heartily supported by Professor E. T. Nyström, the founder and director of the said Institute, and consequently Mr. Norin carried out a most painstaking survey of the said formation, at the same time bringing together a large and exceedingly well preserved collection of fossil plants. This flora has been very carefully studied by Professor T. G. Halle, keeper of the department of fossil plants at the Stockholm Natural History Museum. His monograph, *Palaeozoic plants from Central Shansi*, published 1927 in the series *Palaeontologia Sinica*, identifies no less than 103 species from these beds, out of which no less than 70 are new to science. The *Gigantopteris* flora, which has become known in detail only thanks to the cooperation of Dr. Norin and Professor Halle, has proved of singular interest as a very rich association of Palaeozoic plants, which lived

probably in a tropical climate and contained such a striking form as *Gigantopteris*, a creeper of gigantic dimensions with compound leaves, probably more than a meter broad.

The abortive effort to collect "dragon bones" from Pao Te Hsien was renewed in December 1918, when Chang was sent to this distant place alone and succeeded in bringing together an extensive and most striking collection. It was found that the bones, which almost exclusively belong to mammals (Rhinocerids, Horses of the Hipparion group, Antelops and Deer, Giraffidae, Proboscidea, numerous Carnivores etc.), were obtained by regular underground mining in the red Tertiary clays. The state of preservation was superb, and thanks to this collection we obtained for the first time complete skulls of these mammals (the specimens available in the medicine market being only fragments of bones or mostly single teeth).

During 1919 Chang made repeated visits to Pao Te Hsien, and the collections he brought to Peking revealed the fact that here was a really first-class field for the collection of fossil mammals. Under these circumstances I appealed to the Swedish Research Committee and to Professor Wiman of Uppsala, who had undertaken the scientific preparation and description of these mammals, to find for me a research associate for the special purpose of carefully excavating and collecting these fossils. My Swedish friends most readily responded by appointing to this position Dr. Otto Zdansky, a young Austrian scientist, at that time studying in Professor Wiman's institute.

Dr. Zdansky arrived in China in the spring of 1921 and devoted the greater part of his time to the careful exploitation of the "dragon mines" of Pao Te Hsien. In the Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China, N:o 5, 1923, he has published an article, *Fundorte der Hipparion-Fauna um Pao-Te-Hsien in NW-Shansi*, which gives a very clear and exhaustive description of the fossiliferous area, with a general map and detailed plans of the native underground workings.

In the early part of 1923 Dr. Zdansky went to eastern Kansu, the district of Ching Yang Hsien where the Hipparion fauna had been located by Père Licent some years earlier, and where additional material was now collected.

The preparation and scientific description of the Hipparion material, brought together by me, my Chinese assistants, and Dr. Zdansky, was organized on a large and well conceived plan by Professor Wiman in Uppsala, generously supported by funds for technical work, supplied partly by the Research Committee, partly by the Swedish Government. Thanks to Professor Wiman's skill and perseverance as organizer of this work, nearly the whole of the immense material from the Hipparion beds has been described in the *Palaeontologia Sinica*. The full list of these monographs is to be found in the bibliography contained in this volume. Here it will be sufficient to mention some of the most important contributions, such as Zdansky's own monograph on the Carnivora, Ringström's volume on the Rhinocerids, and Bohlin's very handsome treatise on the Giraffidae.

In the summer of 1919 I visited for the first time the grass-land round the Swedish mission station of Hallong Osso in Inner Mongolia. This trip was undertaken largely for the sake of recreation, but collections were made of the modern fauna and flora. Towards the end of my stay in Mongolia, with the very able help of Rev. Joel Eriksson, I succeeded in locating at Ertemte, 14 km N of Hallong Osso, a sandy and marly lacustrine deposit rich in vertebrate bones of the Pliocene age.

In the following summer, 1920, I returned to Mongolia and more extensive excavations were undertaken in the Ertemte deposit. The early Pliocene fauna of Ertemte has been described by Professor Max Schlosser: *Tertiary Vertebrates from Mongolia*, *Palaeontologia Sinica*, 1924.

During the second summer in Mongolia I turned my attention to the walled-in places and limes walls, which occur in the Hallong Osso region and northwards as far as Panchiang. Some bronzes were also collected with the aid of the local Mongols, and in this manner I made my first acquaintance with the family of small bronzes which, in another paper in this volume, is named the *Suiyuan bronzes*.

From the very outset of the fossil mammal collecting campaign I had devoted considerable attention to the possibilities of finding remains of early Man, ancestral forms or at any rate remains of the Stone Age people. The occurrence of a Hominid tooth in the "dragon bone" material published by Schlosser in *Die fossilen Säugethiere Chinas*, 1903, and the discoveries of Neolithic remains recorded by Torii from S Manchuria and E Mongolia gave indications of the possibilities of such finds.

In the summer of 1919 Mr. Chu, of the Geological Survey, undertook a journey in Chao Yang Hsien, on the borderland between SW Manchuria and E Mongolia, and collected from the local population a very handsome lot of stone implements. In the succeeding years my private collectors made very numerous finds of this kind in the mountainous districts N of Peking.

In the autumn of 1920, I sent my collector Liu to Honan, chiefly to make further collections of fossil mammals at Shang Yin Kou and other localities. Liu, who had been made familiar with Neolithic stone implements, had been instructed to make inquiries for such things, besides collecting fossil mammals.

In December of the said year Liu returned to Peking, bringing with him a collection of several hundred stone implements, many of them remarkably beautiful in type and excellently preserved. The most noticeable feature of the collection was that all the specimens had been obtained at a single village called Yang Shao Tsun. From this fact it seemed apparent that a prehistoric dwelling-site was to be found there.

In May 1921 I went with Liu to Yang Shao Tsun and soon located a Neolithic site of unusual dimensions and very rich in remains of human activity, specially potsherds. The most important feature of this site is the occurrence — together

with the coarse grey monochrome pottery — of a very fine ware: sherds of **thin-walled** small bowls with perfect surface polish and painting in black and **red**, occasionally also white. This was the first indication of the occurrence in **the** Far East of the painted ceramics so characteristic of the Late Neolithic all **over** the eastern Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Russian Turkestan.

My visit to Yang Shao Tsun in May 1921 was only by way of a first reconnaissance. For a regular survey and partial excavation the permission of the **Peking** Government and the provincial authorities was necessary, and these permits **were** obtained before I returned in the autumn of the same year and stayed there **from** October 27 to December 1, making a systematic exploration of this site, which **has** become the type locality of the Yang Shao culture.

The topographical survey of the whole site was carried out by Mr. P. L. Yuan of the Geological Survey, and in the unearthing of the human remains I **was** assisted by Dr. Davidson Black and Dr. Zdansky. In the excavation of **the** dwelling-site deposit I had excellent help from my private assistants, Yao, Liu, Chang and Pai.

When the work in Yang Shao Tsun was completed, I sent Yao on a reconnaissance eastwards along the Lung Hai railway, and he succeeded in locating in Ho Yin Hsien a number of sites, closely related to Yang Shao Tsun but much richer in beautiful painted ceramics.

So far I have only published a preliminary report on the prehistoric finds in Honan: *An early Chinese culture*, Bull. of the Geol. Survey of China, N:o 5, 1923. Dr. T. J. Arne has described the painted potsherds of the Honan sites: *Painted Stone Age Pottery*. Pal. Sin., Ser. D, Vol. 1, 1925.

In the same year, 1923, when the Yang Shao Tsun site was explored, I rather unexpectedly got an opportunity of excavating a small but singularly interesting prehistoric deposit. In the early part of the summer, I was sent by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to SW Fengtien to survey and report on some coal deposits. Close by the Sha Kuo Tun railway station we found, in the Sinian limestone, a small cave largely occupied by a deposit containing prehistoric artifacts. This site, which is approximately of Yang Shao age, I described in 1923 in *Palaeontologia Sinica* under the title *The Cave-Deposit of Sha Kuo Tun*.

1921 was a year full of remarkable developments. In the spring, when I had completed the reconnaissance at Yang Shao Tsun, I went northwards and crossed the Yellow River at Yuan Chü Hsien, in order to examine more closely the river section with fresh-water shells, which, according to Dr. N. Hj. Odhner's determinations, was the first indication of the existence of Eocene beds in China. I now surveyed the whole Eocene area, and a number of mammal remains were found in these lacustrine beds. Later in the year, Dr. Zdansky went to Yuan Chü Hsien and made further important mammal finds.

In the summer of the same year, Dr. Zdansky and I went to Chou K'ou Tien near Peking, where I had studied a small mammal deposit as early as 1918 (see

above, page 16). Near to this small bone deposit we found another of far larger size and containing a fauna of early Pleistocene type. Even at this preliminary stage of excavation I already conceived the idea that hominid remains might be expected in the deposit, and, acting upon this assumption, I asked Dr. Zdansky to return two years later, in 1923. When the extensive mammal material was being prepared for scientific study in Professor Wiman's laboratory in Uppsala, Dr. Zdansky discovered two hominid teeth, which were described by him as *Homo?* in his paper *Die Säugetiere der Quartärfauna von Chou-K'ou-Tien*, Pal. Sin., Ser. C, Vol. 5, 1928.

Already two years before the appearance of this monograph Dr. Zdansky and Professor Wiman had kindly authorized me, on the occasion of the visit of H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Sweden to Peking in October 1926, to communicate the find of these two hominid teeth in the Chou K'ou Tien deposit. At the same time I suggested to my friend Dr. Davidson Black, of the Peking Union Medical College, and to the Geological Survey of China, continued excavations at Chou K'ou Tien, under the joint auspices of the two institutions. I also volunteered to try to arrange that one of Professor Wiman's associates, who was familiar with the Chou K'ou Tien material, should come out to China to carry out this excavation.

From now on the Chou K'ou Tien work was taken over by the Geological Survey and by Dr. Black, representing the Medical School and the Rockefeller Foundation, which supplied the funds. Consequently this is not the proper place to tell of the further stages of this research. It will suffice to mention that Dr. Birger Bohlin was engaged to carry out the palaeontological excavation, Mr. C. Li of the Geological Survey at the same time being responsible for the Geological observations on the site.

The subsequent work on the Chou K'ou Tien site was a most remarkable success. First a very fine molar of the hominid was found, which enabled Dr. Black to give it a specific name, *Sinanthropus pekinensis*, and predict certain important anatomical features.

At a later stage of the work, numerous isolated teeth, part of a lower jaw, and fragments of the skull were discovered, making *Sinanthropus* from now on one of the best known early relatives of Man and a centre of the interest of the whole scientific world. It gives me great pleasure to proffer on this occasion to my friends Dr. Black, Dr. Ting, and Dr. Wong my hearty congratulations for the efficient way in which they have developed this great discovery.

* * *

In the museum of the Geological Survey in Peking there was preserved a big sandstone block containing three vertebrae of what seemed to be a *dinosaur*. According to the information received by the donor, the specimen had been brought from Meng Yin Hsien in Shantung.

In December 1922 Mr. H. C. T'an, of the Geological Survey, and I went to the said district of Shantung and finally succeeded in locating the area where dinosaurs occur in Cretaceous beds, together with turtles, fishes, fresh-water shells, and some plant remains. In the following spring the work was continued by Dr. Zdansky, Mr. T'an, and my collector Chang, and a fine dinosaur material was brought together, which has been recently described by Professor Wiman. Specially interesting is Professor Wiman's penetrating research on the anatomy and biology of the new genus *Helopus Zdanskyi*, an aquatic species of ten metres in length.

During my reconnaissance in Shantung in December 1922, together with Mr. T'an, I also found several deposits of Eocene beds, and a number of mammals were brought together here. Also in this field Dr. Zdansky continued the work the following spring, and he is at present working on the description of all mammals found in Eocene beds, both in Shantung and earlier in Yuan Chü Hsien of Shansi.

* *

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I have now reached the final stage of my collecting activities in China. Several considerations pointed to the distant Northwest of China proper, the Kansu province and adjacent parts of Mongolia and Tibet, as a promising field for palaeontological collecting operations. Lozcy's description of the Kueite basin, and certain finds made by Mr. C. Y. Hsieh of the Geological Survey during a reconnaissance expedition to Kansu, gave us reason to believe that there were good prospects of finding fossil vertebrates. At the same time high hopes were entertained of the finding of prehistoric sites in the distant Northwest. The painted pottery discovered in the late Neolithic sites of Honan showed such affinity to the approximately contemporaneous stations of the Near East and Eastern Europe, that a connection across North-western China and Central Asia was highly probable.

Acting upon these indications, I left Peking the 7th of May 1923 for a journey to Kansu and the adjacent parts of Mongolia and Tibet.

Our hopes of finding rich vertebrate deposits did not materialize. In the red or multi-coloured clays of Tertiary age which predominate round Sining we collected, in a couple of localities, a fauna, the chief constituent of which is a *Mastodon*, and in the Kueite basin numerous *Artiodactyla* were found in the corresponding beds. However, on the whole, the palaeontological campaign was looked upon as almost a failure.

The main reason for this was undoubtedly the scarcity of vertebrates in the Tertiary deposits of those parts of Kansu, but, during the first summer already, the archeological finds attained such significance that I found it imperative to centre all my personal attention upon the following up of the new and very tempting traces in the prehistoric sphere. In fact that summer's work in Kansu

was the turning point of my life, and definitely diverted my interest from geology and palaeontology to the study of prehistoric remains.

Our first important archaeological find in Kansu was made by my collector Chuang at Shih Li P'o, when we were proceeding from Lanchou to Sining. From now on one discovery rapidly succeeded another, first at Kokonor, then in the Kueite valley, and finally, in the autumn after our return to Sining, we discovered the Chu Chia Chao dwelling-site and grave-field, which exhibited such striking and unique features that I decided to remain a second year in Kansu and to devote all my time to archaeological research.

The story of our further finds in Kansu will be fully related in my book *China before History*, and in this place it will suffice to recount the following main events.

Thanks to the kind help of Rev. G. F. Andrew in Lanchou, I succeeded in the course of the winter in obtaining by purchase a few mortuary urns of the Yang Shao period, perfectly preserved vessels of a size and splendour of decoration the like of which had never been seen before in any Neolithic culture.

In April 1924 I succeeded, by the aid of my Chinese collectors, in locating the grave-fields from which came those magnificent urns, which were offered to me in ever increasing numbers and beauty. This new information transferred our excavations to the T'ao Ho valley, a region of striking fertility and a wealth of prehistoric stations of the late Stone Age and the Bronze Age, which continued research will certainly prove to be equal to any corresponding prehistoric area of the Near East.

In the autumn of the previous year my private assistant Pai had already discovered, in the southern part of the Gobi desert, just outside the Chen Fan oasis, a grave-field yielding a quite singular painted pottery of geometric design, in tombs which also contained small bronze objects. This very important desert area I surveyed carefully in August 1924, and these desert excavations constituted the final stage of my field operations.

The total result of my campaign in Kansu and the neighbouring parts of Tibet and Mongolia was the bringing together of an immense amount of material, mostly of ceramics and dating from six or possibly seven consecutive periods, ranging from the final stage of the Stone Age to the centuries immediately preceding the Christian Era.

By the end of October I was back in Peking from an eighteen months' sojourn in the distant Northwest. The following spring my term of service with the Chinese Government came to an end. At that time the Directors of the Geological Survey and the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce paid me the great compliment of allowing me to bring the whole archaeological material with me to Sweden, the half of the collections intended for the Geological Survey of China to be returned only after the completion of their scientific study and description. At the present day two return consignments, consisting of painted funeral urns,

have been dispatched to China, but a very extensive material of ceramics, stone implements etc. still remains to be studied, described, and dispatched to Peking.

I have now given a rapid review of my scientific field activities in China. It will be seen that during the early years of my collecting campaign, 1918—1920, my interest was centered upon fossil mammals, whereas from 1921 to the end of my travelling period in 1924 my interest and energy was increasingly absorbed by archaeology.

* *

When I returned to Stockholm in July 1925 after ten years' continuous absence, certain preparations had already been made to accommodate my archaeological collections. In "Östermalmsfängelset", an abandoned prison that had been made use of for the Historical Museum and for Riksarkivet (the State Archives), a number of rooms as well as sufficient storing space was held in readiness for the material from China. The China Research Committee had also secured the necessary funds for the payment of a nucleus staff to cooperate with me in the unpacking and preparation of the collections.

Mr. S. Curman, the King's Custodian of Antiquities, had waiting for me a young scientist, Dr. N. Palmgren, who had signified his willingness to act as my assistant. Today, when the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities is practically ready and forms a beautiful and artistically arranged exhibition, it gives me a special pleasure to proffer to my friend Palmgren my heartiest thanks for the untiring and zealous work that he has performed. It is only a proper tribute to him to set on record that the success of our arrangements is due to his esthetic skill and his devotion to the cause.

My first lady secretary in "Östermalmsfängelset" was Miss Ingrid Starck, now Mrs. Fridell, who, with an enthusiasm and fidelity worthy of the highest praise, performed rather trying duties at a time when our housing accommodation was very imperfect and conditions were in some degree chaotic. In spite of all practical drawbacks that first year was a very happy time, and on this occasion I am glad to recall to memory my brave fellow-workers in "the prison".

Very soon it became apparent to all interested that the housing accommodation in "Östermalmsfängelset" was quite inadequate and that a more permanent organization was needed for the systematic study of the immense amount of material on hand.

With the support of Mr. Curman, the King's Custodian of Antiquities, the China Research Committee, under the presidency of H. R. H. the Crown Prince, presented to our government a memorandum setting forth the desirability of a research professorship for me and the selection of a suitable temporary home for the collections.

In order to support their appeal to the authorities, the members of the Committee wished to consult some foreign scientists, and the first to be asked was

Professor A. von Le Coq of Berlin. On another occasion an opinion was sought from the prominent Norwegian archaeologist Professor A. W. Brögger.

In January 1926, H. R. H. the Crown Prince invited Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum and Professor Paul Pelliot of Paris to be his guests in Stockholm, in order to study our prehistoric material and give their opinions with regard to it.

A very fine home for the collections was found in the building of the Commercial University College, an edifice just then completed. The top floor of this building had been intended as reserve space for future extensions, and the Board of the College was willing to lease this floor for a period of ten years to accommodate the archaeological collections from China.

It was further decided that the new institution should be named *Östasiatiska Samlingarna* (*The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*) and associated with the Historical Museum, and, like this institution, placed under the supervision of the Academy of Antiquaries.

In accordance with the proposal made by the China Research Committee the 1926 Parliament decided to grant me a research professorship, and to lease the fourth floor of the Commercial University College building to house the collections. Furthermore a grant of 18,000 crowns for current expenses, one of 57,860 crowns for collection cases and furniture, and one of 20,000 crowns for buying books was also voted.

Later on, in 1929, a further grant of 49,200 crowns for additional exhibition cases was made to the institution.

Thanks to the kindness of the Principal of the Commercial University College, we were allowed to begin the transfer of our material to the College building in the spring of 1926, and in July, after we had formally taken possession of the premises, all our material was transferred to the spacious, comfortable, well-lighted, and airy new quarters.

* * *

For many years H. R. H. the Crown Prince had desired to visit the Far East, principally for the purpose of studying the treasures of the ancient eastern civilizations.

A journey was planned for the spring of 1926, when Their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess started upon a voyage round the world, beginning with the United States and then proceeding to Japan, China and India.

Mr. Lagrelius, the treasurer of the China Research Committee, and the author of this paper were invited by the Crown Prince to meet him in Peking and accompany the royal party during their travels in China.

It was the hope of the Crown Prince to avail himself of the occasion of his visit to the East to enrich the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, specially with

objects from the early dynasties of China, and for this purpose the treasurer of the Committee had secured ample funds.

In the antiquity shops of Peking quite a number of important acquisitions were made, among which by far the most valuable were a set of seven exquisite Tang tomb figures and a beautiful large bronze bell.

As a result of a visit which the royal party paid to Lo Chen-yü, the famous Chinese archaeologist, in his home in Tientsin, I opened negotiations with him for the purpose of obtaining certain of his antiquities, specially the ivory carvings and other objects from An Yang. Thanks to a generous donation from Consul Olof Hanson, Prince Rupert, British Columbia, and two donors in Sweden, it was found possible to acquire from Lo Chen-yü a most valuable selection from his collections.

For many years Mr. O. Karlbeck, engineer on the Tientsin-Pukou railway, had been collecting antiquities, specially ceramics and small bronzes. A selection of his ceramics had found their way to the British Museum, and the first very beautiful collection of bronzes was bought for the Hallwyl Collection in Stockholm. When the Crown Prince visited Karlbeck's home in Pukou, we found exposed there a large number of small bronzes, which were secured for the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Eight bronze vessels in the Karlbeck collection were later donated to us through the kindness of Mr. I. Traugott.

A most important result of the royal visit to the East was the splendid gift made by their Royal Highnesses of 710 objects, mostly from prehistoric sites in Japan and Korea. In addition to this, we received from the Crown Prince very important material, excavated by him in collaboration with Japanese archaeologists at the Ubayama dwelling-site, in the prefecture of Chiba, near Tokio.

In November 1927 we were able to open a temporary exhibition in the large hall of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, showing all the new acquisitions mentioned above.

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The aim and ambition of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities is to become a research institute devoted principally to the study of the prehistoric material from China, which will be published in a series of monographs in the *Palaeontologia Sinica*.

In the pursuance of this scientific program we are glad to welcome as temporary collaborators such distinguished scientists as Professor S. Umehara, who visited us on several occasions during the years 1927 and 1928 and has kindly promised to describe in this periodical the early bronze mirrors in our possession.

At an early stage of my researches on the prehistoric urns from Kansu, it became evident that many of the painted designs were magic symbols. The comparative study of those designs has taken me very far afield into folklore, the history of

religions, and the study of various ancient cultures. When facing such an immense complex of problems I felt severely the inadequacy of my own capacity, but fortunately I was able to avail myself of the able collaboration of such distinguished colleagues as Dr. T. J. Arne, Dr. O. Janse, Dr. H. Rydh, and Professor Bogajevsky of Leningrad.

Several of these scientists have prepared papers describing parts of our collections, specially from historical times, which cannot be published in the *Palaeontologia Sinica*. Others have contributed important treatises on problems related to our study of the prehistoric symbols, but referring to materials from other parts of the world, as is the case with Professor Bogajevsky, who has interpreted the symbols of the Tripolje pottery, and Dr. Rydh, who has made similar extensive researches, specially referring to Scandinavia, Central Europe, and the Mediterranean cultures.¹⁾

In order to provide for these contributions and at the same time give to our institute a publication of its own, it has been decided to issue a *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, of which this is the first volume.

From the very birth of our institution it was felt that we were labouring under a severe handicap in not having the regular help of a scholar in sinology, above all the Chinese language. Unfortunately our eminent sinologue, Professor B. Karlgren, resides in Gothenburg, and there were financial difficulties in the way of asking him to come here when needed. A handsome solution of this problem was found by our two great donors Mr. R. Hultmark and Dr. E. Hultmark, who made a fresh donation, specially for the purpose of attaching Professor Karlgren as a research associate to this institute. No development since the inauguration of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities has been of more far-reaching consequence in strengthening our scientific position. I want to take this opportunity of thanking Professor Karlgren for his readiness to cooperate with us, and at the same time to proffer my sincere compliments to the brothers Hultmark, who, during the last few years, have become by far our foremost benefactors and who have crowned their kindness by making it possible for us to avail ourselves of the services of this eminent scholar.

¹⁾ Professor Bogajevsky's article is not yet completed, but will be published in the next number of this Bulletin.

POTTERY OF THE CHOU DYNASTY

BY

CHOU CHAO-HSIANG

WITH SEVEN PLATES

The first half of this article is simply a translation of an article written in Chinese by Mr. Chou Chao-hsiang (周兆岐) with addition of some notes on size and material taken by Professor J. G. Andersson, and photographs and rubbings of the objects in Mr. Chou's collection here treated. I have rendered Mr. Chou's opinions without adding any critical views of my own, except for a few remarks of little importance. So every responsibility rests with Mr. Chou.

The second part is formed by photographs of a few earthenware objects acquired from Mr. Lo Chên-yü and considered by him to be Chou pieces. A few of the inscribed characters he has deciphered, without giving, however, any interpretation of their purport. His readings are inserted here, equally without comment.

B. Karlgren.

DESCRIPTION OF POTTERY COLLECTED BY MR. CHOU

The origin of pottery in China is very remote. When the people, from eating the meat raw and drinking blood¹⁾ advanced to eating cooked food, it had pottery vessels. The Chi chung Chou shu²⁾ says that Shên Nung made utensils of *wa* — *wa* here means earthenware. The Chouli says that Shun highly esteemed pottery³⁾. The Shihchi says⁴⁾ that Shun made pottery on the bank of the (Huang) Ho — all these statements are proofs of the existence of pottery in the highest antiquity. Later on, with the further advance in culture, there came the use of bronze. But it was only the king, the feudal lords and the eminent and wealthy families who used it. What the common people used in everyday life was still pottery vessels. Pottery is in its material fragile and easily destroyed, and has therefore been handed down to later ages to a much smaller extent than bronze. It has also rarely been appreciated. It was first in the middle of the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty that archaeologists gradually thought of directing their attention to it, and pottery vessels unearthed in I-chou (易州) in Chihli, in Ch'ing-chou (秦州) and Lai-Chou (萊州) in Shantung and other places were largely included in the collections of archaeologists and made an object of palaeographic study. When Wu Ta-ch'êng wrote his *Shuo wên ku chou pu*, he made ample use of inscriptions on pottery vessels. In the last few years vessels have been unearthed also in Honan and Shensi. The more ancient they are, the

¹⁾ Allusion to a passage in the Li ki, se Couvreur Le Li I, p. 504.

²⁾ Also called I Chou shu, the Wei annals, unearthed in 281 A. D.

³⁾ See Biot, Le Tcheou-li, II, p. 462.

⁴⁾ See Chavannes, Les mémoires historiques etc. I, p. 72.

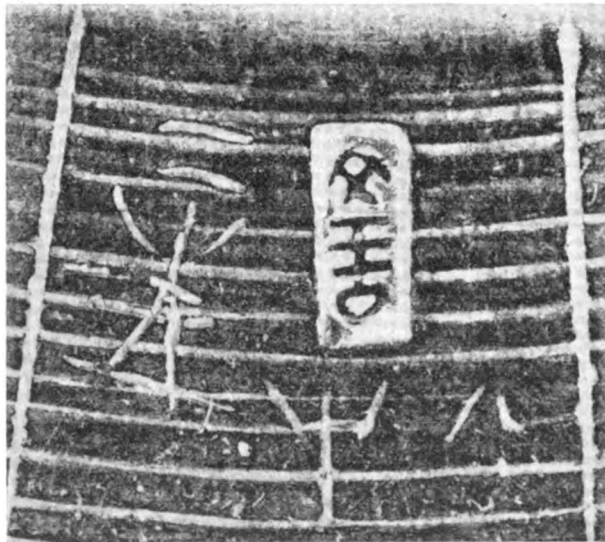
coarser is the ware and the shorter and more enigmatic are the inscriptions. They are equally worthy of being appreciated as the ancient bronze vessels.

From the time I was young I have appreciated pottery according to its archaic in its type, and primitive simplicity also agrees with my simple propensities. The items I have acquired in the course of the years are many. When H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Sweden graciously paid me a visit, he saw them, he asked me to write an account of the collection. Consequently I have selected 14 pieces which are inscribed and which can with certainty be known to be objects from the "Three dynasties",¹⁾ and I have made records of the inscriptions and interpreted them. I have added 3 pieces from Ch'ien Han and one piece from Han time; I have put them in because they were vessels and agree with data in the official histories. The items are as follows:

1. Sherd of Hsiang-wên's food vessel (16.6 cm. broad, 18.6 cm. high).

其為年子
孫永用永
保之哀文
壺奔追奉

1 b



2 b

文
周

2 c

The vessel was very big. It is a pity that only a fragment remains, so that it is impossible to determine its shape. The ten characters: *ch'i wan nien tzu*

¹⁾ Hsia, Shang-Yin, Chou—the author simply means "pre-Han".

sun yung yung pao chih "may sons and grand-sons for ten thousand years forever use and forever treasure it" are a phrase that is constantly met with on ancient vessels. They are a prayer that the object may be preserved forever. Hsiang-wên is the name of a person. P'u (𠂔) is the same as pu (𠂔) evening meal. I suppose that this vessel was used by Hsiang-wên for his evening meal.¹⁾

2. *Tan* (𠂔) with inscription: Wên Chou.

(76 cm. high, very dark grey ware with white spots. The rim about an inch thick. Horizontal engraved lines. Mat pattern, largely effaced, best preserved on the cylindrical part. The bottom convex. Inscription impressed with a seal, positive characters. To the left of the characters a mark.)

The *tan* is a big jar. The expression Wên Chou means that it is used by the descendants of Wên-wang, the sons and grand-sons of the Chou.



3 b

里右紹
造舍遵

3 c

造南萬
氏里

5 c



5 b

3. Half-tile with *t'ao-tieh* made in the right-hand village of Shao-tsun.

(Dark grey ware with white spots. Diameter 16 cm. Seal on the cylindrical surface.)

Exhumed at I-hsien in Chihli; it is a half-tile used in the right-hand village of Shao-tsun. Its decoration is of *t'ao-tieh* shape. It is an object from the Yen state of the Chou dynasty.

4. Half-tile with *ch'ih* (𠂔) dragons.

(Grey ware without spots. Diameter 17 cm.)

The double *ch'ih* pattern is very ancient. It does not conform with objects from Han-time on wards. It is also a Chou object.

5. Coloured sacrificial bowl on foot, *Têng* (𠂔).

(35 cm. high. Pink coloured with bands in strong red — the ordinary Han pattern colour. Seal in the middle of the foot.)

"Made by Mr. Nan from Wan-li (Wan village)". This is an ancient *têng*. Wan-fi is a place name. It was made by Mr. Nan.

¹⁾ Mr. Chou says nothing of the three last characters.

6. *Ying* (甞) from Ch'u.

(48 cm. high. Bands with coarse mat pattern. Light-grey ware spots.)

Ch'u kuo ch'ien x tso li x.

Exhumed at Hsin-yang hsien in Honan. I suppose it was a vessel for grain, used among the people of Ch'u.

7. *P'ou* (甗) of the *yu-kung* Ma I.

(33 cm. high. Grey ware with white spots, two horizontal bands with mat impression, bottom broadly pointed, covered with basket impression.)

Yu kung ("palace of the right") is the title of an office. *Ma I* is the name of a person.



6 b

楚郭遷
左里口

6 c

右宮
馬義

7 c



7 b

8. *P'ou* of Ch'êng-yang.

(26 cm. high. Grey ware without spots. Upper part plain, lower part covered with mat pattern.)

Ch'êng-yang is a place name. It was a *p'ou*, used in the local government. The third character is an old form of *kuan*, official.

9. *P'ou* made by Mr. Nan from Wan village.

(24 cm. high. Grey ware with white dots.)

This *p'ou* was also made by Mr. Nan from Wan-li.



8 b

陽城
完

8 c

造南萬
氏里

9 c



9 b

10. *P'ou* from Po-yang.

(25 cm. high. Grey ware without spots. Mat pattern crossed by horizontal lines.)

"*Po yang hsia*". Po-yang is a place name. It must have been divided into a lower and an upper Po-yang. Hence the distinguishing mark *hsia* (lower) is added.

11. *P'ou* from Shao-ch'ien.

(Similar to VII, but the pattern in the two horizontal bands different.)

Shao-ch'ien chih kou li tsao. Made in the branch village of Shao-ch'ien¹⁾.



10 b

陽 鄱
下

10 c

里 文 紹
造 句 遷

11 c



11 b

12. *Lei* (𪛗) made by Mr. Nan from Wan village.

(16 cm. high. Grey ware with spots.)

Lei is a vessel for spirits. This was also made by Mr. Nan from Wan-li.



12 b

造 南 萬
氏 里

12 c

下 左 隻
窓 里 陽

13 c



13 b

13. *Yu* (𪛗) from Hsia-yüan in the left village of Huo-yang.

(23 cm. high. Grey ware without spots.)

Yu is a vessel for spirits. Huo-yang is a place name. Tso-li ("left village") is a village name. Hsia-yüan means an elevated place in the left village.

¹⁾ Mr. Chou here interprets the 2d character as *ch'ien*, but exactly the same character he has read *tsun* in 3 above. One or the other must be wrong. Cf. also 6 above.

14. *P'ou* of Lu K'ung Chung-chü.

(22 cm. high.)

Lu is a family name, belonging to the descendants of Lu-fu (禄父), son of Chou of the Yin (last king). Chung-chü is his *tzü*, appellation. Thus, this is an object belonging to Lu K'ung Chung-chü.



14 b



駟仲孔禄

14 c

用寶祠時

15 b

15 c

15. *P'ou* used in the *chih* sacrifice.

(23 cm. high. Grey ware without spots.)

Chih tz'ü pao yung "to treasure and use in the *chih* sacrifice". *Chih* was the place where one sacrificed to heaven and earth and the five rulers (*wu ti*). *Tz'ü* is equal to *ssü* (祀) sacrifice. Duke Hsiang of Ch'in (777—766) was the first (of the Ch'in princes), who obtained the position of a feudal lord (*chu hou*) and resided by the sacred place of Si (a place name, see Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* II, p. 15 and III, p. 419). Therefore he instituted (770 B. C.) the sacrifice of the sacred place of Si for announcements to the (five) rulers.

The characters on this *p'ou* have very fine and thin lines, exactly like those on exhumed seals from the Ch'in dynasty. Probably the vessel was used at the *Chih* sacrifice in Ch'in during the period of the "Warring states".

16. Fragment of an earthen ware measure from Ch'in time.

(Upper breadth 11 cm. Brownish grey ware. Positive characters.)

"In the 26th year, the emperor (Ch'in Shih-huang-ti) had completely laid the country under his sway. The feudal lords and the black heads (the people) enjoyed a great peace. He took the title of Huang-ti (August Emperor). Then he ordered the ministers Chuang (Wei Chuang) and Kuan (Wang Kuan) to make clear and uniform the rules, measures, weights and standards which were inadequate and doubtful".¹⁾

¹⁾ This interpretation is given, not after the text of Mr. Chou, who reads the 26th character as *chi* (豕) and takes it as part of the name of the minister Feng Ch'ü-chi, but after the K'ao ku t'u, K. 9, where the inscription occurs on two steelyard weights (*ch'üan*) from Ch'in time. The same inscription is reproduced in the *Li tai chung ting i ch'i k'uan chih*, in the *Chin shih* so and, after the latter, by Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* II, 549.



16 b

廿六年皇帝盡并
兼天下諸侯黔首
大安立號為皇帝
乃詔丞相狀綰
度量則不壹歟
疑者皆明壹之

16 c

17. Fragment of an earthen ware measure from Ch'in time.
(Left border 11 cm. high. Brownish grey ware. Negative characters.)
Inscription identical with part of the preceding one.



18 b

綏和元年
綏王昌為
供官造
湯官造

18 c

18. Vessel of a *t'ang-kuan* from the Sui-ho period of the Han dynasty.
"First year of Sui-ho (8 B. C.), the furnisher Wang Ch'ang, being *t'ang-kuan*,
has made (this vessel)."

Sui-ho was an era-name under Chêng-ti of the Western Han dynasty. *T'ang-kuan-ch'êng* (丞) was an officer belonging to the *shao-fu* (少府) and he was in charge of the wine.¹⁾

Kung "deliver", means that he was furnisher. His name was Wang Ch'ang, and he made it when he was *t'ang-kuan*. The figure of the cat on the lower half of the vessel has the idea of frightening away rats from the vessel when filled with wine or food.

* * *

¹⁾ The Tz'ü-yüan says, of the *ping-mi*, steamed cakes of flour and rice. This is more reasonable in this case, as the cat would not have been put on a wine jar.

The following vessels formerly belonged to the Lo Chên-yü collection

19. Earthenware measure from Chou time. Museum number K 110
(26.5 cm. high. Light grey ware without spots. Mat impression.)



19 b

人南
里圖

19 c

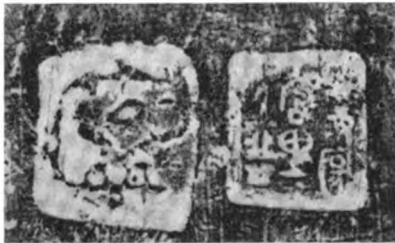
里公絡

20 c



20 b

20. Earthenware measure from Chou time. N:r K 11.004: 172.
(23 cm. high. Light grey ware without spots. Plain body with horizontal



21 b

人
里圖

21 c

里朝
城圖

22 c



22 b

21. Earthenware measure from Chou time. N:r K 11.004: 175.
(Diameter at the rim 22.5 cm. Light grey ware without spots. Mat impression

22. Earthenware *téng* from Chou time. N:r K 11.004: 174.
(19.5 cm. high. Light grey ware without spots.)



23 b

乾

23 c

23. Earthenware *têng* from Chou time. N:r K 11.004: 178.

(12 cm. high. Light grey ware without spots.)

(Tile 24, diameter 17.5 cm. Fragment 25, 20 cm. in straight line between corners. Grey ware with white spots, *t'ao-t'ieh*.)

* *

*

We add here a *handle* (26) of some big earthenware vessel possibly a model used in the casting of a bronze vessel, purchased by Professor Andersson in Peking. Its ware, dark grey with white spots, is very similar to that of the tiles above and to that of some of Mr. Chou's pieces. It should probably be dated in the same period. *T'ao-t'ieh* and several animals.

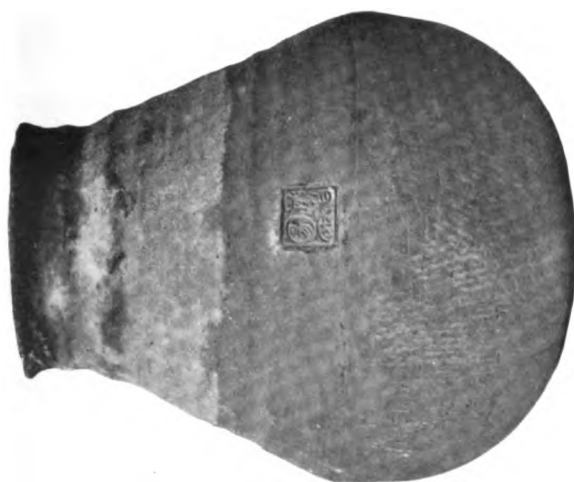




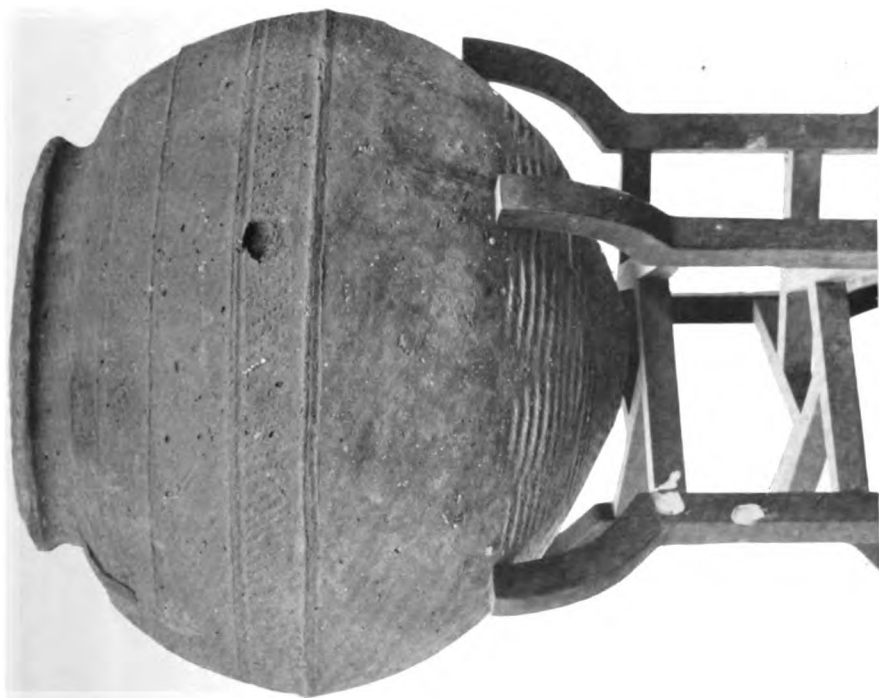
CHOU CHAO-HSIANG: Pottery of the Chou dynasty.



8



8



7



9



10

14



15



11



12



13





16

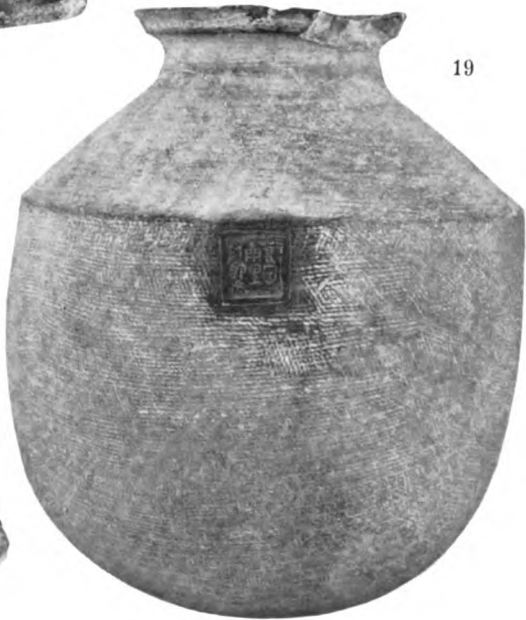


17



18





NOTE SUCCINCTE SUR L'HISTORIQUE DU TERRITOIRE DE PEKING ET SUR LES DIVERSES ENCEINTES DE CETTE VILLE

EXTRAIT D'UNE NOTE EN PREPARATION SUR PEKING,
A TRAVERS LES ÂGES

PAR

G. BOUILLARD¹⁾

QUATRE CARTES

Chapitre I

HISTORIQUE DU TERRITOIRE DE PEKING

Le territoire de Peking, par sa situation privilégiée dans une plaine très fertile, au pied d'un amphithéâtre de montagnes, a toujours été très peuplé. Cette riche région ne manqua pas, dès lors, d'exercer la convoitise des voisins plus pauvres et surtout celle des Nomades du Nord, hordes faméliques en quête de vivres et de soleil. De là ces luttes continuelles entre les possesseurs du pays et leurs voisins: Chinois contre Chinois; Chinois contre Nomades; Nomades ayant réussi à effectuer la conquête et à s'installer contre ceux encore en quête du butin nécessaire à leur existence.

La première mention qui soit faite d'une façon à peu près certaine de l'existence de ce territoire est une citation des anciennes Annales disant que l'empereur *Yü wang*²⁾, chassé de ses Etats du Sud par son ministre révolté *Tch'e yow*, transporta sa capitale au Nord, à *Tcho lu*³⁾.

¹⁾ Les premiers éléments de ce travail furent réunis, dès 1910, avec la précieuse collaboration du Commandant *Vaudescal*, savant sinologue, alors Commandant à Peking de la garde de la Légation de France; depuis il fut tué glorieusement au front, au commencement de la Grande Guerre. Que ce rappel de collaboration soit considéré comme un hommage ému rendu à sa mémoire.

Nous devons citer également comme sources de notre étude le nom du R. P. *Wieger* (S. J.) dont tous les savants ouvrages nous ont constamment servi de guide et où nous avons abondamment puisé et celui du R. P. *Couvreux* (S. J.) dont les Dictionnaires sont des monuments d'érudition.

²⁾ *Yü wang* (桮王), souverain (légendaire) qui aurait régné de 2752 à 2698 av. J. C. était incapable et tyrannique. Son ministre *Tch'e yow* (桮尤) se révolta et l'attaqua, le forçant à s'enfuir vers le Nord.

³⁾ *Tcho lu* (涿鹿). Cet endroit est assimilé par la plupart des historiens avec *Tcho tchow* (*Tcho hsien*), (涿州), situé à 60 kil. au Sud-Ouest de Peking. Nous pensons, sans développer ici notre hypothèse, qu'il s'agit plutôt de *Tcho lu hsien* (涿鹿縣), petite sous-préfecture située à 120 kil. au Nord-Ouest de Peking [du temps des *Ts'ing*: *Pao an tchow* (保安州)] située dans la vallée du *Hun ho* (滙河), dans le cirque des montagnes entourant la capitale.

Beaucoup de commentateurs identifient cet endroit avec *Tcho tchow*, au Sud-Ouest de Peking; nous sommes d'avis cependant qu'il s'agit plutôt de l'emplacement actuel de *Tcho lu hsien*, au Nord-Ouest de Peking, dans le cirque des montagnes entourant la capitale. Ce même empereur *Yü wang*, étant devenu complètement odieux à ses sujets, fut renversé par le célèbre *Huang ti*¹⁾, qui alla l'attaquer au Nord et le défit à *Fan ts'üan*²⁾, non loin de *Tcho lu*.

Le nouvel empereur *Huang ti* établit sa capitale à cet endroit même et ayant réuni toute son armée, il marcha contre le rebelle *Tch'e yow*. La bataille eut lieu dans la plaine de *Tcho lu*; *Tch'e yow* fut vaincu; il put s'échapper à la faveur d'un épais brouillard, mais le nouvel empereur possédait des voitures "marquant le Sud"³⁾, comme le disent les Annales; le fugitif fut rejoint et tué. Nous avons insisté sur cet incident qui semble prouver que l'usage de la boussole était connu déjà par les Chinois 2700 ans av. J. C.

Ce territoire qui s'appelle actuellement *King tchao*⁴⁾, nom remplaçant la dénomination de *Shun t'ien fu*⁵⁾, qui avait cours au temps de la dernière dynastie et qui est encore en usage dans le peuple, portait alors le nom de *Yow*⁶⁾ et aussi celui de *Yen*⁷⁾.

Lorsqu'en 2060 av. J. C., *Yü le Grand*⁸⁾, le célèbre ministre de l'empereur *Shun* et qui devait lui succéder comme empereur, eut terminé son grand travail de canalisation, l'empire fut divisé en neuf provinces. Le territoire en question appelé

¹⁾ *Huang ti* (黃帝) ou l'empereur jaune, est considéré comme le premier empereur de la période historique, véritable fondateur de l'empire chinois, vers 2479 av. J. C. Le R. P. *Wieger* l'assimile à *Tch'e yow*, comme étant le chef des *Miao* (苗), aborigènes que *Hsien yüan* (軒轅) du clan *Hsia* (夏) (nomades chinois envahisseurs) aurait vaincu avant de devenir l'empereur *Huang ti* (La Chine à travers les âges par le R. P. *Wieger*).

²⁾ *Fan ts'üan* (阪泉). Cet endroit est impossible à situer auprès du *Tcho hsien* actuel. Un peu au Sud du *Tcho lu hsien* actuel se trouve un endroit appelé *P'uo ts'üan* (陂泉) (source du versant) et qui a la même signification que *Fan ts'üan*.

³⁾ *Tche nan tch'é, yi she sze fang* (指南車以示四方) = indiquant+sud+voiture+ afin de+désigner+quatre endroits.

Première mention de la boussole dans l'histoire.

⁴⁾ *King tchao ti fang* (京兆地方) ou territoire de la capitale. *King tchao* exprime l'idée d'une ville à population très nombreuse comme une capitale d'un Etat. Lorsque le territoire s'appelait *Shun t'ien fu*, le préfet hors classe qui l'administrait portait le titre de *King tchao*.

⁵⁾ *Shun t'ien fu* (順天府) = obéir+ciel+préfecture ou la Préfecture soumise à la volonté du Ciel.

⁶⁾ *Yow* (幽) = caché, a le sens aussi de : qui s'étend fort loin; *Yow shan* (幽山): la montagne qui s'étend fort loin.

⁷⁾ *Yen* (燕) = hirondelle.

Ces deux noms donnés à la province proviennent probablement des noms que portaient alors des montagnes qui entouraient la plaine de Peking.

⁸⁾ *Yü le Grand* (大禹) fut ministre des empereurs *Yao*, (堯) et *Shun*, (舜); ce fut lui qui conçut après la terrible inondation de 2085 av. J. C. le système de canaux asséchant le pays et en termina la construction en 2060. Il fut régent en 2010 et empereur en 1989.

*Yow tchow*¹⁾ faisait partie de la province du Nord *Ki tchow*; il fut subdivisé plus tard en trois, ce qui constitua alors douze provinces. Le *Yow tchow* fut une de ces douze provinces.

A cette époque la ville principale du district portait le nom de *Ki*²⁾ et les appellations *Yen*, *Yow*, *Ki* sont le plus souvent prises l'une pour l'autre dans les récits chinois.

En 1122 av. J. C., quand le fondateur de la 3^e dynastie, *Tchow*³⁾, eut conquis l'empire, il donna, à un descendant de l'empereur *Huang ti*, le fief de *Yen*, en apanage.

C'est de cette époque que date le premier royaume de *Yen*, capitale *Ki*, correspondant à peu près au *Shun t'ien fu* moderne.

Ce royaume dura environ 900 ans. Il fut mêlé à toutes les luttes féodales de la période des *Tchow* et les Annales nous ont conservé les noms et les dates de règne de 43 des ducs qui se succédèrent à la tête de ce grand fief de l'empire.

En 226, le célèbre prince de *Ts'in*⁴⁾, qui avait conquis successivement les royaumes ou grands fiefs des *Tchow*, attaqua le royaume de *Yen* dont l'armée fut défaite non loin de la capitale *Ki*. Cette ville fut assiégée et finalement prise en 222; elle fut complètement rasée: le royaume de *Yen* était supprimé. Le grand conquérant, après avoir unifié la Chine, divisa son empire en 40 provinces (*Kiün*) et le territoire de *Yen* devint le *Shang ku kiün*⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *Yow tchow* (禺州). Le caractère (州) *tchow* indique une terre habitable, entourée d'eau de tous côtés. *Yü le Grand* ayant divisé le territoire de la Chine par de nombreux canaux constitua de ce fait des territoires entourés d'eau. De là le nom de *tchow* donné aux neuf provinces d'empire.

Le *Yow tchow* dépendit d'abord du *Ki tchow* (冀州), mais lorsque celui-ci fut subdivisé en trois, le *Yow tchow* devint une des douze provinces de l'empire.

²⁾ *Ki*, (蓟); nous chercherons dans la deuxième partie de cette note à déterminer l'emplacement que pouvait occuper cette ville.

³⁾ *Tchow* (周), comme toutes les dynasties Chinoises, la 2^e dynastie finit par une révolte provoquée par les excès des princes abâtardis qui se succédaient sur le trône aux fins des dynasties; *Fa* (姬) prince de *Tchow* (周) se mit à la tête des mécontents; il supprima le dernier empereur des *Shang Yin* (商纣) qui mit fin à ses jours en se jetant dans les flammes comme *Sardanapale*. *Fa* fonda la 3^e dynastie appelée *Tchow* du nom de la principauté de son fondateur.

⁴⁾ La dynastie des *Tchow* devait elle-même, après 873 ans de durée, avoir le même sort que la précédente. Le prince de *Ts'in* (秦), *Tchao siang* (昭襄) devint prépondérant et il détruisit successivement les six royaumes ou grands fiefs tributaires devenus indépendants. Il fonda la 4^e dynastie *Ts'in* du nom de sa principauté et il devint le fameux empereur *She Huang ti* (始皇帝) si connu dans l'histoire de la Chine.

⁵⁾ *Shang ku kiün* (上谷郡), une des 40 préfectures du nouvel empire des *Ts'in*.

Le mot *kiün*, est employé pour désigner une circonscription confiée à un très haut fonctionnaire.

Au début de la dynastie des *Han*¹⁾ (200 av. J. C.), le royaume de *Yen* fut rétabli et devint l'apanage d'un des fils du premier souverain fondateur de la dynastie.

La ville de *Ki* fut reconstruite et redevint capitale du territoire qui faisait partie du *Yow tchow*; ce dernier, lui-même, s'étendait à l'Est jusqu'à la Mandchurie.

Pendant cette période troublée le royaume fut supprimé, rétabli, supprimé à nouveau, au hasard de luttes incessantes. Vers le commencement de notre ère, un aventurier, *Wang Lang*²⁾ réussit à se tailler un royaume dans le Nord de la Chine. Il fut tué en l'an 24 ap. J. C. par *Liu Siu*, le fondateur de la dynastie des *How Han*.

Sous cette dynastie, les luttes furent continues pour la possession de *Ki* et du *Yow tchow*.

Pendant la période célèbre, dite des Trois Royaumes³⁾ (190—230), le *Yow tchow* dépendit du royaume de *Wei*. En 317, la dynastie *Tsin* unifie à nouveau le pays. C'est dès cette époque que les conquérants, venant du Nord, cherchent à se fixer dans les régions du Nord de la Chine. Déjà, depuis très longtemps, ces pays avaient été dévastés par les incursions des nomades barbares des pays du Nord, mais ceux-ci, après le pillage, étaient toujours rentrés dans leur repaires; ce n'est plus cela maintenant et l'on voit ces barbares prendre goût au pays, s'y établir et y fonder des royaumes militaires de durée plus ou moins longue.

Tout d'abord ce sont des tribus de *Huns*⁴⁾, qui s'organisent dans le Nord de la

¹⁾ A la 4^e dynastie des *Ts'in* (秦), qui ne dura du reste que 48 ans, succéda, après une anarchie préparatoire de 3 ans (206—203 av. J. C.) la 5^e dynastie des *Han antérieurs* ou *Ts'ien Han* (前漢) (203 av. J. C. à 220 ap. J. C.). Le fondateur en fut *Liu Pang* (劉邦), petit officier de fortune.

²⁾ *Wang Lang* (王郎), en l'an 24, se déclara empereur dans le Nord, à la faveur de l'anarchie consécutive à la fin des *Ts'ien Han* et la ville de *Ki* l'accueillit favorablement. *Liu Siu* (劉秀), descendant de *Liu Pang* qui s'était insurgé contre l'usurpateur *Wang Mang*, (王莽), qui avait détrôné les *Ts'ien Han*, tua ce dernier en l'an 23; il tua également *Wang Lang* et se proclama empereur *Han*; il continua cette dynastie sous le nom de *How Han* (後漢) ou *Han postérieurs* (25 à 220 ap. J. C.).

³⁾ *San kuo* (三國), (221—265). La guerre civile, qui marqua l'effondrement de la dynastie des *Han*, fit émerger 3 compétiteurs qui fondèrent 3 royaumes. L'un, de la race des *Han*, *Liu Pe* (劉備) régna sur le royaume de *Shu Han* (蜀漢) (*Sze tchuan* actuel) (compté comme 6^e dynastie). Un autre *Sun K'iūan* (孫權) fonda le royaume de *Wu* (吳) (*Kiang su* actuel). Le 3^e *Ts'ao Ts'ao* (曹操), régna sur le royaume de *Wei* (魏) (*Honan* actuel). Ces royaumes se combattirent bien entendu; le roi de *Wei* renversa celui de *Shu Han*, mais il fut à son tour détrôné par un de ses généraux, dont le fils *Sze-ma Yen* (司馬炎) devint le fondateur de la 7^e dynastie des *Tsin* (晉) (265—420). Celui-ci, après avoir détruit le royaume de *Wu*, unifia à nouveau la Chine.

⁴⁾ Les *Huns*, de race turque, formaient des peuplades barbares et nomades, en Mongolie, qui furent la terreur des Chinois pendant de longs siècles. Quelques-unes des nombreuses tribus se fixèrent par la suite et établirent des royaumes *Huns*, de durée précaire, du reste, comme les *Ts'ien tchao* (前趙) (304—329), les *How tchao* (後趙) (317—351).

Chine et fondent le royaume de *How Tchao* (*Shun te fu* actuel); ils conquièrent tout le *Yow tchow*. Puis, des tribus *tongouses*, *Sien pi*¹⁾, sous la conduite de leur roi *Mu-jung Huang*, s'emparent du pays, fondent le royaume de *Ts'ien Yen* et installent leur capitale à *Yen* en 341.

En 381, *Fu Kien*²⁾, roi de *Ts'ien Ts'in*, réunion de tribus *tangoutaines* qui venaient du cours supérieur du fleuve jaune, s'empare du pays; mais il en est chassé en 394 par *Mu-jung Tch'ui*³⁾, qui a reconstitué le royaume *tongouse* de *How Yen*.

Ce n'est que luttas sans répit pour la possession du pays et de sa capitale *Ki* (ou *Yen*).

C'est ensuite *Tao wu ti*⁴⁾, roi de *How Wei* qui, en 408, défait le successeur de *Mu-jung Tch'ui* et s'empare de la région; il reconstitue le *Yow tchow* qui comprend le *Yen kiün* (district de Peking actuel).

Mais les guerres ne cessent point et successivement les *Pe Ts'i* et les *Pe Tchow*⁵⁾ deviennent les maîtres de la région, dont le nom change à chaque conquête, mais dont *Ki* reste toujours la capitale.

Yang Kien qui fonda la dynastie chinoise des *Sui*⁶⁾ possède en 605 le *Yow tchow* et, ayant décidé une grande expédition contre la Corée, il concentre ses troupes très nombreuses, à *Ki* et ses approvisionnements à *Tcho tchow*. La Corée fut vaincue et soumise.

Puis le *Yow tchow* est envahi par des bandes de brigands dont chaque chef se fait roi à son tour et cela dure ainsi tout le temps de l'anarchie préparatoire à l'établissement de la dynastie des *T'ang*.

¹⁾ Ces hordes *tongouses* de la région du Liao en Mandchurie, se réunirent en une peuplade *Sien pi* (鮮卑) dont un chef *Mu-jung Hui* (慕容廆) se fit le grand *Khan* en 307. Le fils de ce dernier, *Mu-jung Huang* (慕容皝), franchit la grande Muraille et fonda le royaume *Ts'ien Yen*, (前燕) au *Yow tchow*, capitale *Ki*.

²⁾ *Fu Kien* (苻堅) 3^e roi de peuplades *tangoutaines* (thibétaines) formant le royaume *Ts'ien Ts'in* (前秦).

³⁾ *Mu-jung Tch'ui* (慕容垂), fils cadet de *Mu-jung Huang* relève le royaume de *Yen* détruit par *Fu Kien* en 385; il fonde le *How Yen* (後燕) (384—408). La capitale d'abord au Sud de *Ki*, à *Tchung shan* (中山) [*Ting hsien* (定縣) actuel], fut transférée ensuite à *Ki*.

⁴⁾ *Tao wu ti*, (拓跋珪) fils du roi de *T'ai* [Tongouse *T'uo Pa* (拓跋)] fonda en 386 le royaume de *Wei* ou *Yüan wei* (元魏), qui devait bientôt devenir si célèbre.

⁵⁾ *Pe Ts'i* (北齊) dynastie chinoise (mais non légitime), fondée par le ministre *Kao Yang* (高洋) des *Wei* orientaux (Tongouses); elle dura de 550 à 557.

Pe tchow (北周), dynastie chinoise (non légitime) fondée par le ministre *Yu-wen Kiao* (宇文弼) qui supprima le dernier roi *tongouse* des *Wei* occidentaux; elle dura de 557 à 581.

⁶⁾ En 581, un nommé *Yang Kien* (楊堅) supprima les *Pe Tchow* et fut le fondateur de la dynastie des *Sui* (隋) qui, après avoir renversé la 11^e dynastie des *Tch'en* (陳) (557—558), la remplaça 589—517, (12^e dynastie).

En 620, au début de la 13^e dynastie des *T'ang*¹⁾, le *Yow tchow* est rétabli comme circonscription administrative. Le territoire en question jouit alors d'une tranquillité relative, mais cependant troublée, de plus en plus, par des incursions de tribus mandchues, les *K'i tan*²⁾, qui occupaient alors une grande partie de la Mandchurie actuelle. En 755, *An Lu-shan*³⁾, un aventurier *turc*, qui était parvenu à se faire nommer gouverneur des provinces du Nord-Est, se révolte et se proclame empereur de la dynastie *Ta Yen*; il choisit comme capitale *Fan yang*⁴⁾.

Cette dynastie ne fut qu'éphémère et son fondateur fut assassiné 3 ans après, en 758; le *Yow tchow* fut alors reconstitué. Jusqu'à la fin de la dynastie impériale des *T'ang*, la région tout en étant nominalement province de l'empire, fut en réalité occupée par une série d'aventuriers, qui se massacrèrent les uns les autres, après avoir, chacun, essayé de fonder des royaumes qui ne purent durer que très peu de temps.

Après la chute de la dynastie des *T'ang*, de 907 à 960, l'empire traverse une période très agitée où les révolutions dynastiques se succèdent très rapidement: c'est l'époque des cinq petites dynasties. La 14^e fut celle des *How Liang*⁵⁾ (907—923); le *Yow tchow* est province d'empire; dans la lutte avec le pays de *Tsin*, le *Yow tchow* est alors conquis par ce dernier, mais pour peu de temps, du reste, car, en 937, le Nord de la Chine est envahi et conquis par les *K'i tan*, tribus tongouses (mandchues) qui se sont fusionnées et qui, après leur conquête, se fixent définitivement dans le pays et fondent le royaume, *Ta Liao*⁶⁾.

La dernière des cinq petites dynasties, la 18^e, *How Tchow*, est anéantie par un de ses généraux qui fonde la 19^e dynastie, *Sung*⁷⁾, qui, elle, devait durer plus longtemps (960—1280). Le premier empereur *T'ai tsung* (976—998) tente de chasser les *K'i tan* ou *Liao* et il équipe une grande armée à cet effet. Les *Liao* sont d'abord battus et leur capitale, qu'ils avaient appelé *Nan king*⁸⁾ (Peking

¹⁾ *T'ang* (唐), 618—907; 23 empereurs; cette dynastie fut fondée par *Li Yüan* (李淵) qui était préfet des *Sui* en 613. En 617, il fomenta une insurrection contre l'empire et, après avoir renversé la dynastie régnante, il fonda la 13^e dynastie des *T'ang*.

²⁾ Les *K'i tan* (契丹) étaient des hordes tongouses descendant des *Sien pi* (voir plus haut). Ils se groupent par hordes, obéissent à un grand *Khan* et, bientôt, deviennent très agressifs et dangereux pour les Chinois.

³⁾ *An Lu-shan* (安祿山); dynastie *Ta Yen* (大燕).

⁴⁾ *Fan yang* (范陽), ville au Sud de *Yow tchow*; c'est l'emplacement du *Ting hsing hsien* actuel (定興), un peu au Sud de *Tcho hsien* (涿縣) (*Tcho tchow*).

⁵⁾ 14^e dynastie: *How Liang* (後梁) (chinoise); fondateur *Tchu* (朱) 907—923.

15^e dynastie: *How T'ang* (後唐) (turque); fondateur *Li* (李) 923—936.

16^e dynastie: *How Tsin* (後晉) (turque); fondateur *She* (石) 936—946.

17^e dynastie: *How Han* (後漢) (chinoise); fondateur *Liu* (劉) 946—950.

18^e dynastie: *How Tchow* (後周) (chinoise); fondateur *Kuo* (郭) 951—966.

⁶⁾ *Ta Liao* (大遼).

⁷⁾ *Sung* (宋), fondateur *Tchao K'uang-yin* (趙匡胤).

⁸⁾ *Nan king* (南京), capitale du Sud par rapport à leurs 3 autres capitales du Nord, de l'Ouest et de l'Est.

actuel), est très menacée. Une grande bataille s'engage sous ses murs, auprès de la rivière *Kao leang ho*¹⁾; les *Sung* sont finalement vaincus et leur empereur ne peut s'enfuir jusqu'à *Tcho tchow* qu'avec la plus grande difficulté (979).

Quelques années plus tard, de nouvelles attaques sont tentées par les *Sung* qui essayent de profiter des difficultés qu'éprouvaient alors les *Liao*, attaqués eux-mêmes par les *Kin*²⁾, autres peuplades mandchues qui convoitaient leur pays.

Les *Sung*, d'abord vainqueurs, sont par la suite battus et obligés à une retraite précipitée (986). Les *Liao* vainqueurs font alors de fréquentes incursions sur le territoire chinois et même pénètrent fort loin dans le Sud; en 1004, ils avancent jusqu'au fleuve jaune et menacent la capitale des *Sung*. Une paix peu flatteuse pour ceux-ci est alors conclue en 1005 et les *Sung* doivent payer à leurs ennemis un tribut très important.

Les *Liao* restent les maîtres du pays jusqu'en 1114, date où les *Kin*, qui avaient dû se soumettre aux *Liao*, rompent avec ceux-ci et engagent une lutte sans merci dans laquelle les *Liao* devaient finalement succomber.

Les *Sung* cherchent alors à profiter de la faiblesse des *Liao*, battus par les *Kin*, pour essayer à nouveau de reconquérir la province du Nord. Ils réussissent même à entrer dans la capitale nommée alors *Yen king*³⁾ (Peking) où se livre un combat furieux: mais les *Liao* reçoivent bientôt des renforts et les Chinois sont obligés de fuir en toute hâte et leur retraite précipitée se change en déroute complète.

Cependant une entente avait été faite entre les *Sung* et les *Kin*; les *Sung* devaient reprendre la capitale des *Liao* et conserver six départements de la région du Nord. Devant l'impuissance des Chinois, les *Kin* se décident à prendre *Yen king*; ils s'emparent de la passe de *Kiü yung kuan*⁴⁾ et une bataille sanglante a lieu dans la banlieue Nord de la capitale. La régente des *Liao*, l'impératrice *Siao*⁵⁾ prend la fuite et les *Kin* s'emparent de *Yen king*, en 1122.

¹⁾ *Kao leang ho* (高梁河); la rivière *Kao leang* est une rivière venant des collines de l'Ouest et qui passe par l'emplacement de Peking; actuellement cette rivière, canalisée, amène à Peking les eaux du Palais d'été et on la traverse en dehors de la ville, non loin de la porte de *Si tche men*.

²⁾ Ces nomades d'origine *mandchue*, comme les *K'i tan* du reste, se réunirent en tribus sous le nom de *Niu tchen* (女真) et devinrent, vers 907, une horde redoutable campant dans la vallée de l'Amour. Ils forment alors une confédération sous un grand *Khan*, *A ku ta* (阿骨打), qui fonde la dynastie *Kin* (金).

³⁾ *Yen king* (燕京).

⁴⁾ *Kiü yung kuan* (居庸關), dans le défilé de la fameuse passe de *Nan k'ow*; cette forteresse forme la défense du milieu.

⁵⁾ *Siao how* (蕭后), femme de *Yé liū Shun* (耶律淳) prince royal des *Liao*, qui avait été mis sur le trône à *Yen*, la capitale, à la suite de la fuite de l'empereur. Elle prit le pouvoir en 1122 à la mort de son mari; elle voulut traiter avec les *Kin* qui s'y refusèrent et elle fut contrainte à leur livrer bataille. Cette bataille eut lieu à *Kuan she* (貫市), à 25 kil. au Nord-Ouest de Peking, tout près de *Yang fang*, au pied de la montagne. La légende dit que six des fils de l'impératrice périrent dans ce combat. L'impératrice assista, dit-on, de loin à la bataille, du haut de la colline qui s'avance dans la plaine au Nord du Palais d'Été actuel et

Mais les vainqueurs sont fort occupés à poursuivre leurs conquêtes et la destruction des *Liao*; ils n'occupent pas le pays conquis et les *Sung* peuvent s'y établir de 1122 à 1125; ils donnent à *Yen king* le nom de *Yen shan fu*¹⁾. En 1125, le *Sung* ont le tort de réclamer aux *Kin* d'autres territoires qui leur auraient, prétendaient-ils, été promis. Ce fut une grave imprudence, car les *Kin* reviennent *ex force*, chassent les *Sung* du Nord de la Chine, les poursuivent jusqu'à leur capitale *K'ai fung fu*²⁾: ce fut la fin des *Sung Occidentaux*.

Les *Kin* organisent alors le Nord de la Chine, agrandissent la capitale des *Liao* et continuent à lui donner le nom de *Yen king*.

En 1135, la capitale est alors appelée *Tchung tu*³⁾, capitale du centre, tandis que la préfecture dont elle était le chef-lieu, *Si tsin fu* devient *Ta hsing fu*.

Mais les *Kin* ne devaient pas jouir de leurs conquêtes pendant une période très longue. Menacés par les *Mongols*⁴⁾, qui s'étaient organisés puissamment, ils sont attaqués par les généraux de *Gengis Khan*, le fameux conquérant. La capitale *Tchung tu* est assiégée, prise et détruite (1215). Le pays devient province mongole et, ce qui reste de la capitale des *Kin*, est réduit au rang de sous-préfecture et reprend le nom de *Yen king*. En 1264, le fameux *Kubilāi Khan*⁵⁾, qui devait devenir l'empereur de toute la Chine et fonder la dynastie des *Yüan*, en 1280, vient fixer sa résidence à *Yen king* et comme la ville des *Kin* était complètement détruite, *Kubilāi* décide de fonder une nouvelle ville au Nord de l'ancienne et il lui donne le nom de *Ta tu*, la grande capitale (*Khanbalik*, en mongol).

Le district devient *Ta tu lu*; l'ancienne ville des *Liao* et des *Kin*, se reconstruit peu à peu au Sud et devient le faubourg méridional de la nouvelle capitale; il

qui est appelée encore *Wang erh shan* (望 兒 山) (La colline d'où l'on regarde). On dit qu'elle bâtit à cet endroit un temple commémoratif dont on voit actuellement les ruines. C'est certainement une erreur, car elle fut obligée de fuir au plus tôt et elle ne revint jamais dans la région. Les ruines que l'on voit sur cette montagne sont celles d'une similitude-forteresse tibétaine construite par l'empereur *K'ien lung*, des *Ts'ing*, au 18^e siècle, pour l'exercice de ses troupes.

¹⁾ *Yen shan fu* (燕 山 府).

²⁾ *K'ai fung fu* (開 封 府).

³⁾ *Tchung tu* (中 都); *Si tsin fu* (新 津 府); *Ta hsing fu* (大 興 府).

⁴⁾ Les *Mongols* étaient d'origine tongouses; leur nom chinois est *Mung ku* (蒙 古). Des hordes se réunirent en *Khanats*. En 1210 *Tchinghiz Khan* (*Gengis Khan*) réunit tous les *Khan* et se proclama empereur. Il attaque les *Kin* et s'empare de tout le Nord; puis il entreprend sa conquête de l'Occident laissant à son fils et à ses généraux le soin de continuer la guerre à la Chine. C'est *Kubilāi Khan*, un de ses petits-fils qui, en 1260, devient le grand *Khan*. En 1264, il vient se fixer à *Yen king* et il entreprend la construction de la nouvelle capitale *Ta tu* (大 都) en 1267. Il y résida en 1271; il conquiert toute la Chine et, en 1280, se proclame empereur de la Chine, 20^e dynastie, *Yüan* (元). Le district de Peking porta alors le nom de *Ta tu lu* (大 都 路). (Le mot *lu*, province, fut employé d'abord par les *Sung*, puis les *Yüan* étendirent sa signification à toutes les préfectures).

⁵⁾ *Koubilāi*, traduit en chinois *Hu pi lié* (忽 必 烈) était le second frère de *Mangou*, grand *Khan* des *Mongols* depuis 1260; il était, par conséquent, petit-fils de *Gengis Khan*.

était alors connu sous le nom de *Nan tch'eng*¹⁾. Mais la gloire des conquérants mongols devait être également éphémère; un grand mouvement national chinois se fit jour dans la vallée du *Yang tze* et, en 1386, le chef des insurgés, un nommé *Tchu Yüan-tchang*²⁾, fonde la 21^e dynastie, *Ming*. Le général en chef des troupes chinoises vient assiéger *Ta tu* et s'en empare.

Le pays est alors organisé en province chinoise et la capitale est appelée *Pe p'ing fu*³⁾.

En 1380, le 1^{er} empereur des *Ming*, fondateur de la dynastie, donne la province de *Yen* à un de ses fils avec le titre de vice-roi: ce devait être le futur empereur *Yung lo*⁴⁾.

Au premier empereur succède son petit-fils, mais son oncle le détrône et prend sa place. Il appelle alors son ancienne résidence *Shun t'ien fu*⁵⁾ ou *Pe-king* et il décrète qu'elle sera la capitale du Nord, alors que la capitale du Sud resterait à *Nan king*.

En 1421, il décide de n'avoir qu'une capitale unique et il se transporte à *Shun t'ien fu* où il s'installe définitivement. Il meurt en 1424 et son fils lui succède; mais le nouvel empereur meurt à son tour l'année suivante et il est remplacé par son fils qui, lui, s'installe à *Nan king*. Ce n'est qu'en 1436 que la capitale fut réinstallée à Peking et, cette fois, définitivement.

Depuis le district n'a subi aucun changement et il forme toujours la même préfecture de *Shun t'ien fu*.

Sous le règne du dernier empereur des *Ming* (1628—1644), de nombreux brigands profitèrent de l'affaiblissement du pouvoir pour infester les provinces. De plus les *Mandchus*, peuple tartare qui s'était constitué en royaume en Mandchurie, se montraient très agressifs et faisaient de nombreuses randonnées en Chine pour y piller et rançonner le pays.

Un chef de rebelles *Li Tze-tch'eng*⁶⁾, ayant formé une grande troupe de partisans,

¹⁾ *Nan tch'eng* (南 城).

²⁾ *Tchu yüan tchang* (朱 元 章) de très basse extraction; d'abord domestique dans une bonnerie, puis bonze; il défroqua et devint chef de brigands; il devint après aide de camp du général *Kuo tze hsing* (郭 子 興), chef des insurgés et, en 1388, après avoir fondé la dynastie des *Ming*, il en devient le premier empereur.

³⁾ *Pe p'ing fu* (北 平 府).

⁴⁾ *Yung lo* (永 樂) nom de règne du 3^e empereur *Ming*, *Tch'eng tsu* (成 祖) qui régna de 1403 à 1424, date de sa mort, à l'âge de 65 ans. Il donne d'abord à la ville de *Pe p'ing fu* où il avait résidé comme vice-roi du Nord le nom de *Shun t'ien fu* (順 天 府) ou aussi de *Peking* (北 京), capitale du Nord, par opposition à *Nan king* (南 京), capitale du Sud, berceau de la dynastie. En 1421, il décide de s'installer à *Peking* et d'en faire la capitale unique de l'empire.

⁵⁾ *Shun t'ien fu* (順 天 府).

⁶⁾ *Li Tze-tch'eng* (李 自 成), ancien paysan, quelque peu lettré, devient brigand et peu après, en 1640, chef de la rébellion contre les *Ming*. Après avoir pris *K'ai fung fu* au *Honan*, puis *T'ai yüan fu*, au *Shan si*, il prend *Peking* en 1644. Il est chassé de Peking par le général *Wu San-kui* (吳 三 桂), aidé des *Mandchus* et il est tué peu après dans une échaffourée (1645).

conquit en partie le *Honan* et le *Chihli*; il s'empare de *Peking* en 1644. Le dernier empereur *Ming* se pendit et la ville fut prise et livrée au pillage.

Le général des *Ming*, *Wu San-kui*, était alors à *Shan hai kuan*¹⁾, faisant face aux *Mandchus*. Ce général appela à son aide l'ennemi, croyant peut-être que celui-ci l'aiderait à prendre la succession des *Ming*. Les *Mandchus* accoururent et, avec l'aide de l'armée chinoise de *Wu*, reprirent *Peking*. *Li Tze-tch'eng* disparut.

Mais, maîtres de *Peking*, les *Mandchus* le conservèrent et ils commencèrent bientôt la conquête de toute la Chine après avoir fondé la 22^e dynastie, *Ts'ing*²⁾. Depuis 1644, rien ne fut changé; la province conserve le nom de *Shun t'ien fu* et la capitale celui de *Pe king*. Il y a lieu de citer encore la prise de *Peking* par l'expédition franco-anglaise en 1860—1861 et le siège et la prise de *Peking* en 1900, par les troupes étrangères alliées, à la suite des excès des *Boxeurs*.

Depuis la dynastie des *Ts'ing* a été supprimée en 1912 et remplacée par la République. Les événements qui affectent alors le territoire de *Peking* et de la capitale sont de l'histoire contemporaine et n'ont pas à être traités dans cette note.

¹⁾ *Shan hai kuan* (山海關).

²⁾ *Ts'ing* (清).

Chapitre II

LES ENCEINTES SUCCESSIVES DE PEKING

Dans le chapitre précédent, nous avons parcouru rapidement les diverses étapes de l'histoire du territoire actuel de Peking et de sa capitale.

Sur l'emplacement de la ville actuelle, ou dans ses environs immédiats, ont existé plusieurs villes importantes, aujourd'hui disparues, et dont il n'existe que peu ou même aucune trace; elles sont connues par les récits des anciennes Annales chinoises ou par quelques vestiges retrouvés çà et là et permettant ainsi quelques essais de reconstitution.

A) VILLE de *Ki* (carte I)

La première en date est l'antique ville de *Ki* que l'on trouve mentionnée depuis l'origine de l'histoire et, comme il est dit au chapitre I, elle fut la capitale du royaume de *Yen*, donné en apanage en 1122 av. J. C. par le fondateur de la dynastie *Tchow* aux descendants de l'ancien empereur *Huang ti*.

Cette ville de *Ki* fut détruite et rasée en 222 av. J. C. par le fils du fameux *She huang ti*, en même temps que le royaume de *Yen* était anéanti. Où se trouvait cette capitale? Jusqu'ici il a été impossible de l'établir d'une façon certaine. Quelques vagues traditions laissent bien supposer que son emplacement devait être au Nord-Ouest de la ville actuelle, mais rien ne vient préciser cette hypothèse: aucune trace, aucun vestige n'étant jusqu'ici parvenus jusqu'à nous.

Le fait cependant fut admis à l'époque de *K'ien lung*, l'empereur bien connu (1736—1796) et ce souverain, ami des belles-lettres et des études historiques, fit élever une stèle, écrite de sa main, sur l'emplacement qu'aurait occupé une des portes de l'antique capitale *Ki*.

Cette stèle, abritée par un bâtiment recouvert d'un toit en tuiles impériales jaunes, toit qui a du reste disparu et dont il ne reste que les 4 piliers qui le supportaient, se dresse sur le mur en terre, côté Ouest, de l'ancienne enceinte mongole, non loin de son angle Nord-Ouest.

A vrai dire, l'inscription de la stèle écrite de la main de l'empereur, ne donne aucune précision ni aucun argument en faveur de la tradition.

Ce pavillon est connu sous le nom de *Huang t'ing*¹⁾; sur la stèle, côté Sud, sont gravés en grands caractères les mots: *Ki men yen shu* = arbres ombrageux à la

¹⁾ *Huang t'ing* (皇 亭) = impérial+pavillon.

porte de *Ki*¹⁾. Sur l'autre côté sont gravés des vers écrits par l'empereur et relatifs au *Ki men yen shu* qui était le nom d'un parc situé jadis à cet endroit. Ce parc était une des huit merveilles de la capitale dont l'énumération date de la dynastie des *Kin*²⁾. Les poètes des *Ming* ont souvent cité le parc de *Ki men* à la fin du 14^e siècle.

Actuellement, il ne reste plus aucun vestige et rien ne peut préciser, en admettant que le pavillon de la stèle soit bien l'emplacement d'une porte de *Ki*, quelle serait l'orientation de cette porte.

Le mur de terre appartient incontestablement à la muraille mongole, nous le verrons plus loin. Au moment où *Khanbalik* fut construite existait-il à la même place quelque vestige d'un ancien rempart de *Ki*? Peut-être; d'autre part, l'existence d'une dépression souvent remplie d'eau à l'Ouest et Nord-Ouest, peut faire supposer que le rempart nord de *Ki* correspondait avec le mur du nord de la ville mongole. Dans ce cas, l'emplacement de la stèle, serait celui de la porte Ouest ou Nord-Ouest et les murs Ouest et Nord de la ville mongole auraient été construits sur les restes des murs Ouest et Nord de la ville *Ki*. Tout ceci n'est qu'une supposition qui nous a servi à tracer l'emplacement hypothétique de *Ki* sur la carte I.

B) VILLE de *KI*, des *HAN* (carte I)

Après sa destruction, en 222 av. J. C., la capitale de la province du Nord fut reconstruite sous les *Han*. Fut-elle réédifiée sur le même emplacement ou bien plus au Sud? Aucun vestige ni aucun document ne permet de trancher jusqu'ici cette question.

D'une part, de très nombreux exemples de villes détruites et reconstruites semblent prouver que les Chinois ont très généralement préféré réédifier les villes détruites sur un emplacement voisin de l'ancien. D'autre part, mais cet argument n'a qu'une valeur de sentiment, il semble que les allusions à *Ki* encore faites du temps des *Ming* doivent plutôt se rapporter à la capitale des *Han* qu'à l'ancien *Ki* des *Yen*. Mais alors pour quel motif les *T'ang* auraient-ils édifié leur *Yow*

¹⁾ *Ki men yen shu* (箭門烟樹) = *Ki* + porte + sombre + arbre.

²⁾ Les huit merveilles de la capitale, (京都八景). (Voir Dr *Bretschneider*, traduction *Collin de Plancy*. Dans l'étude du Dr *Bretschneider*, Recherches sur Peking, traduction *Collin de Plancy*, il est cité à ce sujet des vers de *Tch'eng min tcheng*, poète qui écrivait au milieu du 15^e siècle, sous les *Ming*.

"— Au pied du *T'u tch'eng* (mur en terre) qui est près de la capitale, on peut voir les portes d'un ancien monastère.

"— L'eau y mugit et tout alentour sont des arbres ombreux.

"— Beaucoup de gens s'y promènent. Ici est la porte de l'ancien *Ki*.

"— Du temps des *Kin* et des *Yüan*, il ne nous est resté qu'une vieille tour.

tchow plus au Sud? car il n'est pas mentionné qu'au début des *T'ang*, *Ki* ait été détruite. Dans le doute, et peut être arbitrairement, nous fixerons l'emplacement de *Ki* des *Han* au même endroit que *Yow tchow* des *T'ang*, emplacement qui, nous allons le voir, peut être déterminé avec plus de précision.

C) VILLE de YOW TCHOW des T'ANG (carte I)

Nous avons vu au chapitre I que, sous les *T'ang*, la capitale de la province du Nord, *Yow tchow*, portait le même nom ou bien était encore appelée *Yen tchow*.

Cette ville était au Sud du *Ki* des *Yen* et son emplacement, et même son périmètre, peuvent être tracés avec assez de précision.

Sous le règne de l'empereur *K'ang hi* (1662—1723), en creusant pour les fondations d'une maison en construction, près de la porte de *Si hua men*¹⁾ de la cité impériale, on découvrit une stèle tombale faisant connaître que cet emplacement se trouvait à 5 lis au Nord-Est de la ville de *Yow tchow*. D'autre part, une stèle du célèbre temple de *Fa yūan sze*²⁾, datée de 742, fait savoir que ce temple, qui s'appelait alors *Min tchung sze*, était dans l'angle Sud-Est de *Yow tchow*.

Si l'on admet que l'enceinte était carrée, on peut tracer le *Yow tchow*, ainsi qu'il est indiqué sur la carte I et on peut remarquer que les dimensions de la ville étaient à peu près les mêmes que celles que nous avons été amené à donner à *Ki*.

D) VILLE de YEN KING des LIAO (carte II)

En 937 le Nord de la Chine était conquis par les *Tongouses* et le territoire de *Yow tchow* faisait partie du royaume *Liao*, fondé par les *K'i tan* qui, après deux siècles d'incursions et de pillages, s'étaient enfin installés.

Ils choisirent la capitale de la province pour en faire leur capitale du Sud³⁾; ils agrandirent et transformèrent l'antique *Yen* ou *Ki*.

Cette capitale des *Liao*, d'abord nommée *Nan king*, capitale du Sud, peut être assez facilement déterminée. Des récits assez nombreux et des vestiges assez importants permettent d'en fixer l'emplacement et le périmètre. Ce fut le site

¹⁾ *Si hua men* (西 華 門).

²⁾ *Fa yūan sze* (法 源 寺) = loi+source+temple. Il s'appelait autrefois *Min tchung sze* = douleur d'âme+fidélité+temple.

C'est le plus ancien temple de Peking; il fut construit la 19^e année *Tchen Kuan* (貞 觀) du 3^e empereur des *T'ang* (en 645), en souvenir des officiers et soldats tués dans les guerres du Nord. Il servait d'habitation aux empereurs lorsqu'ils visitaient la région. Ce temple fut reconstruit à plusieurs reprises et, en dernier lieu en 1778. Il contient de nombreuses reliques des *T'ang* et des *Liao*.

³⁾ *Nan king* (南 京), capitale du Sud, par opposition aux 3 autres capitales qu'ils avaient choisies au Nord, à l'Est et à l'Ouest; cette dernière était *Ta t'ung fu* (大 同 府) (*Shansi*).

de *Yen king* qui fut choisi et la vieille ville des *T'ang* fut agrandie à l'Ouest et au Sud.

Tandisque les murs Est et Nord restaient au même emplacement, mais étaient seulement prolongés, le mur occidental était reculé vers l'Ouest de 2000 mètres environ et le mur méridional était également reculé vers le Sud de la même quantité.

Des vestiges du mur Nord existent encore derrière le temple de *Po yün kuan*¹⁾ et peuvent fixer l'emplacement de ce mur. D'autre part, l'angle Sud-Ouest de la muraille subsiste encore très visible et bien conservé, avec les traces de ses bastions et de son fossé, un peu au Sud du Champ de Courses actuel²⁾.

En traçant donc les murailles par ces points de repère, on trouve (carte II) une ville de forme carrée et dont les côtés mesuraient environ 4500 mètres; le périmètre était de 18 kil. de tour, soit 32 lis environ. Les anciennes Annales donnent du reste à l'enceinte trente deux lis, quelquefois 36.

Dans le *Je hsia kiu wen k'ao*³⁾, il est mentionné des documents relatifs à la position de l'ancien Peking; ils indiquent que l'ancienne capitale des *Liao*, contenait des temples de *Po yün kuan*, *T'ien ning sze*⁴⁾, de *Min tchung sze*. Le quartier, appelé aujourd'hui *Liu li tch'ang*⁵⁾, était alors le village de *Hai wang ts'un*⁶⁾ en dehors de la porte Nord-Est de *Yen king*. L'endroit qui est encore

¹⁾ *Po yün kuan* (白雲觀). Le monastère des nuages blancs; célèbre temple taoïste situé en dehors de la ville, à l'Ouest. Sur son emplacement s'élevait déjà, dès le 4^e siècle, un temple taoïste, qui fut reconstruit sous les *T'ang* où il se trouvait dans l'angle Nord-Ouest. Il était en ruines sous les *Liao* et il fut reconstruit sous les *Kin*.

²⁾ A 4 kil. environ dans le Sud-Ouest de la porte de *Tchang yi men* (箭儀門) porte Ouest de la ville chinoise et à 3,5 kil. au Sud-Sud-Est du Champ de Courses, on trouve les vestiges d'un ancien rempart qui se coude à angle droit. Ce rempart présente des bastions bien conservés et, à l'extérieur, est un fossé rempli des eaux des marécages des environs. Le coude est non loin du village de *Wo fang ying* (鵝房營) = le camp où sont gardées les oies. Le rempart est planté de superbes pins à écorce blanche (*pinus bungeana*) et de grands genévriers. C'est un endroit extrêmement pittoresque et charmant en été.

Le rempart Ouest peut se suivre sur environ 3000 mètres; la partie Sud se prolonge seulement d'environ 350 mètres.

³⁾ *Je hsia kiu wen k'ao* (日下舊聞考) = soleil+au dessous+vieux+entendre+investigation, ou anciens récits entendus sous le soleil (ou dans la capitale).

C'est un célèbre ouvrage dont la première édition date des *Ming* (fin du 17^e siècle). Une édition plus complète fut publiée à la fin du dernier siècle: elle comporte 160 volumes.

⁴⁾ Nous avons déjà cité *Min tchung sze* et *Po yün kuan*; *T'ien ning sze* (天寧寺) est un temple immédiatement au Sud de *Po yün kuan* et où s'élève une haute tour à 13 étages. C'est un très ancien temple dont la construction remonte à 550. Il fut reconstruit à plusieurs reprises.

⁵⁾ *Liu li tch'ang* (琉璃廠) = faïence+verre+fabrique; du nom de l'emplacement d'une ancienne fabrique de poterie. C'est le lieu où, le premier mois de chaque année, se tient une foire très célèbre.

⁶⁾ *Hai wang ts'un* (海王村) = mer+prince+village.

appelé *Hé yao tch'ang*¹⁾ était en dehors et à l'Est de la capitale. Le temple de *T'u ti miao*²⁾ était également dans la capitale des *Liao*.

Tous ces vestiges et ces documents permettent donc de déterminer presque exactement l'emplacement et le périmètre de la capitale des *Liao*, *Yen king* et de supposer avec certitude que cette capitale s'élevait sur l'emplacement de la capitale des *T'ang*, *Yow tchow* et n'en était qu'un agrandissement.

E) *TCHUNG TU*, des *KIN* (carte II)

En 1122, d'autres Tartares, les *Kin*, chassent les *Liao* et s'emparent de leur capitale; elle reste à peu près en bon état. Mais les *Kin* n'ont pas le temps de s'y installer et elle est alors occupée par les *Sung*. Les *Kin* les en chassent peu de temps après et, en 1152, ils choisissent cet endroit pour y établir leur capitale du centre et y fixer la résidence définitive de l'empereur. Le palais des *Liao*, était situé dans le Sud-Ouest de *Yen king*; soit qu'il ait été probablement détruit lors de la prise de la ville, soit que les empereurs *Kin* ne voulussent pas y résider, toujours est-il que la nouvelle dynastie édifia un palais en dehors³⁾ et agrandit la ville des *Liao* à l'Est pour y inclure ce palais.

Doublèrent-ils l'ancienne ville en prolongeant les murailles Nord et Sud de la même longueur que les murailles de *Yen king* ou allèrent-ils plus loin, au delà du mur Est actuel de la ville chinoise?

Certaines vieilles Annales⁴⁾ fixent 75 lis comme périmètre de la ville, ce qui donnerait pour le mur Nord 17 kil., ce qui est évidemment trop; d'autres ne donnent que 30 lis ce qui est certainement erroné, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse que de l'agrandissement que construisirent les *Kin*; ces dernières dimensions coïncidant avec celles de la ville de *Yen king*, on pourrait en conclure que les *Kin* doublèrent la ville des *Liao*. Cette dernière hypothèse semble du reste la plus probable. Il est dit également dans ces Annales que la capitale avait 12 portes, 3 sur chaque côté. En résumé, il paraît certain que l'agrandissement des *Kin* consista en une juxtaposition à l'Est de *Yen king* d'une nouvelle ville de mêmes dimensions.

L'empereur *Tchang tsung*⁵⁾, des *Kin*, fit construire au Nord de sa capitale une résidence d'été. Il y fit amener les eaux du *Kao leang ho* qui, semble-t-il, coulaient primitivement vers le Nord. Il fit creuser un grand lac, *T'ai yi tch'e*⁶⁾,

¹⁾ *Hé yao tch'ang* (黑窑廠) = noir+four+fabrique, endroit où se trouvait un vieux four à brique.

²⁾ *T'u ti miao* (土地廟) = temple du *T'u ti* ou génie du territoire. Ce temple existe encore et se trouve dans la ville chinoise au Nord-Ouest.

³⁾ Le nouveau palais dont l'enceinte extérieure mesurait environ 7 kil. occupait à peu près les emplacements des temples actuels du Ciel et de l'Agriculture.

⁴⁾ *Ta kin kuo tche* (大金國志): Annales des *Kin*.

⁵⁾ *Tchang tsung* (章宗), 6e empereur des *Kin*.

⁶⁾ *T'ai yi tch'e* (太液池).

et avec la terre des fouilles, il édifia l'île artificielle de *K'iung hua tao*¹⁾. Probablement il fit élever un palais auprès de ce lac.

Il existe à l'Est de la muraille orientale actuelle de Peking, un vestige de muraille en terre qui part du canal de *T'ung tchow* et que l'on peut suivre aisément, à quelques interruptions près, jusqu'à hauteur de la moitié du mur en terre Est de la capitale mongole. Là, ce mur en ruine se coude à l'Ouest et il vient s'arrêter au mur mongol.

Ce vestige de muraille a excité l'imagination des archéologues qui s'en sont occupés et d'aucuns ont voulu en faire le mur Est de la ville mongole. Nous ferons remarquer tout d'abord que ce mur ne semble pas avoir été un mur d'enceinte de ville, car, nulle part, on n'y voit des traces de bastion, alors qu'on voit de pareilles traces, très nettes, sur les ruines du mur de *Yen king* et sur les murs Nord et Ouest de la capitale mongole. D'autre part, ce mur n'est pas tracé en ligne droite, alors qu'il est plus que certain que le mur de la ville mongole affectait une forme géométrique régulière; de plus il ne se raccorde pas avec le coin Nord-Est du mur en terre.

Que pouvait être alors cette muraille? Nous pensons qu'elle constituait l'enceinte du parc formant la résidence d'été des *Kin*, peut-être bien même datait-elle du temps des *Liao*, où elle aurait servi au même usage. En effet, ce mur dont les ouvrages chinois ne font pas mention²⁾, même le plus complet, le *Je hsia*, aurait été construit selon une tradition populaire³⁾ par l'impératrice *Siao*, des *Liao*. Nous avons indiqué son tracé et son prolongement hypothétique sur la carte II.

F) *TA TU* des *YÜAN* (carte III)

Nous avons vu au chapitre I que les *Kin* furent dépossédés de leurs conquêtes par les Mongols.

Le fondateur de la dynastie des *Yüan*, *Kubilāi Khan*, petit-fils du terrible conquérant *Gengis Khan*, conquiert toute la Chine. Il s'installe en 1264 dans l'ancienne capitale des *Kin*, dont les Mongols s'étaient emparés en 1215. Comme la ville de *Tchung tu* avait été presque entièrement ruinée lors du siège de 1215, *Kubilāi* eut un instant l'idée de la reconstruire, mais il se décida à élever de toute pièce une nouvelle capitale au Nord de *Tchung tu*. La construction commencée en 1267 fut terminée en 1271. Le *Yüan tche*⁴⁾ et d'autres Annales de

¹⁾ *K'iung hua tao* (琼华岛).

²⁾ D'après le Dr *Bretschneider*, seul, le *Tu tch'eng king she k'ao* (都城形势考) (courte description historique de Peking, publiée au 19^e siècle) rapporte cette tradition populaire, mais son auteur considère le mur comme mur d'enceinte de *Yen king*, ce qui est tout à fait arbitraire.

³⁾ Voir pour l'impératrice *Siao*, p. 45, note 5.

⁴⁾ *Yüan tche* (元 志), Annales des *Yüan*

l'époque donnent à la nouvelle capitale, qui avait été appelée *Ta tu* un périmètre de 60 lis, ce qui ferait 34 kil. 500; un autre ouvrage dit qu'il ne s'agit que de petits lis¹⁾, ce qui donnerait 23 kil. seulement; *Marco Polo* dit qu'elle était carrée et qu'elle avait 24 milles de pourtour; mais quel était le mille du *Marco Polo*²⁾ ?

Nous allons essayer de déterminer l'emplacement exact de cette capitale. Le Dr *Bretschneider*, qui a étudié avec soin cette question, dit que le *Yüan yi t'ung tche*³⁾ et le *Sin tsin tche*, deux ouvrages des premières années des *Ming*, indiquent que, lors de la construction de la capitale mongole, il fut ordonné de construire le mur du Sud à 30 *pu* (environ 50 mètres) au Sud du monastère de *King show sze*⁴⁾. Or, il subsiste encore deux tours de ce temple, connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de *Shuang t'a sze*.

Cette distance de 30 *pu* seulement indique que le mur fut tracé non loin du mur Sud du temple, mais on ignore à quelle distance ce mur du temple se trouvait éloigné des tours. Toutefois, il est certain que l'Observatoire actuel a été construit par les Mongols; en admettant même qu'il n'ait été édifié qu'après la construction de la muraille, il est certain, puisqu'il a été construit sur cette muraille, que son emplacement actuel marque l'extrême limite du mur Sud, c'est-à-dire le coin Sud-Est de la ville mongole. Si, sur un plan exact de la capitale actuelle, on mène une parallèle à la muraille Sud actuelle en passant par l'Observatoire, cette ligne indiquera l'emplacement de la muraille méridionale mongole. Elle est située à 650 mètres de la muraille Sud actuelle et à 160 mètres au Sud des tours de *Shuang t'a sze*. En admettant que la muraille fut construite à 30 *pu* du mur Sud du temple, il en résulterait que les tours étaient à 160 moins 50, soit à 110 mètres du mur Sud du temple.

D'autre part, la muraille Sud de la ville mongole ne pouvait pas être située plus au Sud, car elle aurait rencontré le *Wen ming ho*, cours d'eau réunissant

¹⁾ Le *li* (里) est de 360 *pu* (步) ou 80 *tch'ang* (丈) ou 1800 *tch'e* (尺) (pied). Ce qui donne au *li* la valeur de 575 mètres; le petit *li*, rarement employé, est de 240 *pu* ou de 383 mètres.

²⁾ *Marco Polo* dit que la ville formait un carré. Était-ce le carré géométrique ou bien un rectangle peu allongé? Le mot carré est peut-être employé par opposition à une forme irrégulière comme en présentent les villes chinoises du Sud.

Quant au mille de *Marco Polo*, il est diversement évalué par les auteurs qui en font mention; d'après le Dr *Bretschneider* il vaudrait 5000 pieds soit 2 lis 77 soit 1593 mètres environ; 24 lis feraient donc 38 kil. 230 — c'est également très exagéré, la muraille mongole ne mesurant que 28 kil. 900. Mr *Charignon* dans son *Marco Polo* ne donne pour valeur au mille que 600 *pu* soit 1 li 66 ce qui ne donnerait que 22 kil. 900.

³⁾ *Yüan yi t'ung tche* (元一統志); grande géographie de l'empire mongol; *Sin tsin tch'e* (新清志).

⁴⁾ *King show sze* (廣壽寺), fondé en 1200 par l'empereur *Tchang tsung* des *Kin*, (1190—1208). Ce temple fut construit dans le Parc d'été créé par cet empereur. Il fut reconstruit sous les *Yüan* et il possède deux tours, l'une de 7 étages, l'autre de 9, d'où son nom de *Shuang t'a sze* (雙塔寺) = le temple des deux tours.

le canal *Lu k'ow ho*¹⁾ au canal des transports allant à *T'ung tchow* et qui servait de fossé Nord à la capitale des *Liao* et des *Kin*. Il est peu probable que les Mongols aient fait entrer ce cours d'eau dans la ville en mettant la muraille méridionale plus au Sud et il semble certain, d'autre part, qu'ils n'ont pas dévié cette rivière.

Nous pouvons donc fixer la muraille Sud de la ville mongole suivant le tracé indiqué carte III. Enfin les murs en terre situés à l'Est, au Nord et à l'Ouest de la ville actuelle, qui comportent des traces de bastions très visibles et dont les trois tronçons se raccordent parfaitement en formant les angles Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest et qui sont du reste en excellent état de conservation, ces murs en terre, disons-nous, ne peuvent être que les vestiges des murs de la ville mongole.

Que seraient-ils sans cela? A cause de leurs bastions, ils ne peuvent être que des murs d'enceinte de ville et, à part la première capitale de *Ki*, qui aurait occupé le coin Nord-Ouest de cette enceinte, les autres portions ne correspondent à aucun emplacement d'une autre ancienne ville. De plus, il est certain que des vestiges de murs d'une ville détruite depuis 17 siècles ne seraient pas aussi visibles et aussi bien conservés que les murs actuels.

Le murs Est et Ouest se continuaient donc sur les emplacements des murs actuels jusqu'au mur Sud que nous venons de déterminer. Un autre argument vient comme preuve à l'hypothèse d'emplacement que nous préconisons.

Tous les auteurs, ainsi du reste que Marco Polo, s'entendent pour dire qu'au milieu de la ville mongole s'élevait une tour de la Cloche (Tour du Tambour actuel). Or, si nous menons les diagonales du rectangle que nous avons obtenu pour le périmètre de *Khanbalik*, ces diagonales dont l'intersection fixe le milieu de la ville, se rencontrent exactement au point où se trouve actuellement ce monument; à notre avis cet argument est décisif²⁾.

Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord sur le nombre de portes de la capitale. Les uns disent 11, les autres 12. Par raison *géométrique*, nous sommes d'avis qu'il avait dû y en avoir 12; peut-être n'en citait-on que 11, parce que la 12^e, au milieu du mur Sud, était la porte du Palais et devait être réservée à l'empereur? A

¹⁾ Le canal *Lu k'ow ho* (洛 水) était un canal partant du fleuve *Hun ho* à l'Ouest de Peking, fleuve qui coule à un niveau supérieur à celui de la capitale et qui devait, ainsi, pouvoir fournir l'eau nécessaire au canal des transports de *T'ung tchow* (ce dernier canal était à écluses).

Le canal *Lu k'ow ho* fut construit sous les *Kin* en 1171; mais 4 ans après, les eaux rompirent les digues et toute la banlieue Ouest de Peking fut dévastée. Finalement, en 1184, le canal fut bouché, car il était trop dangereux.

En 1265, sous *Kubilāi Khan*, il fut réouvert, mais à la suite de nouveau ravages, il fut à nouveau bouché en 1298.

Une troisième tentative d'utilisation de ce canal eut lieu en 1342, toujours sous les *Yüan*, mais elle ne fut pas plus heureuse; les eaux bourbeuses du *Hun ho* avaient colmaté le lit du canal jusque sous les murs de la capitale et avaient surélevé ce lit au-dessus de la plaine.

Il fut définitivement supprimé quelques années après.

²⁾ Le même argument est présenté par le Dr *Bretschneider*.

notre avis, il y avait bien une porte au milieu de la muraille Nord et nous verrons plus loin pourquoi les *Ming* ont, plus tard, supprimé cette porte.

Le palais des *Yüan* se trouvait à l'emplacement du palais actuel et les dynasties suivantes, *Ming* et *Ts'ing*, se sont contentées d'en modifier les monuments et les installations. Il englobait les lacs creusés par les *Kin* et le *K'iung hua tao* (*Pe t'a sze* actuel), mais la Montagne de Charbon (*Mei shan*) n'existait pas; elle n'a été édiflée que sous les *Ming*, comme nous le verrons plus loin. Nous ne pouvons entrer dans cette note succincte dans la description détaillée du palais des Mongols, description que nous réservons pour notre note définitive.

G) PEKING des MING (carte IV)

La tourmente qui emporta les *Yüan* fit disparaître les palais et les autres monuments élevés par les Mongols et il ne reste de cette époque que l'ancienne muraille en terre au Nord de Peking; elle est fort bien conservée du reste jusqu'à ces jours, mais elle tend à se niveler par disparition des terres. Il subsiste également la tour du Tambour, les fondations de l'Observatoire et quelques autres vestiges, stèles et pierres. C'est du reste la fragilité des constructions chinoises, tout en bois et briques, qui n'ont pas permis aux constructions mongoles de parvenir jusqu'à notre époque. Nous parvenons alors à l'époque de la dynastie des *Ming* pendant laquelle la ville de Peking a pris la physionomie qu'elle a conservée jusqu'à ce jour.

Nous avons vu dans le chapitre I que le fondateur de la dynastie des *Ming* établit sa capitale à *Nan king* et il donna le fief de *Yen* à un de ses fils avec le titre de vice-roi. Celui-ci s'installa dans la partie du palais à l'Ouest des lacs, la partie centrale ayant été détruite au moment de la prise de la capitale mongole. Ce prince devait prendre le pouvoir impérial et devenir l'empereur *Yung lo*.

Il décida de faire du chef-lieu de son fief une capitale de l'empire et, tout en conservant *Nan king* comme capitale du Sud, il appela *Peking* la capitale du Nord; c'était en 1421. Cette ville devint la capitale définitive en 1436.

Au début de la conquête du Nord par les troupes chinoises, lorsque le général en chef *Siü ta*¹⁾ se fut emparé de *Ta tu*, il trouva que la ville avait une superficie trop grande, alors qu'elle avait été évacuée par tous ses habitants mongols; il ordonna alors de reporter plus au Sud le Mur Nord et de le placer à l'endroit où il se trouve actuellement.

Ce fut alors que le futur empereur *Yung lo* vient résider à Peking; son premier soin fut de reconstruire le palais qui avait été en grande partie détruit. Probablement pour donner des avancées vers le Sud au nouveau palais et l'agrandir

¹⁾ *Siü ta* (倭達); ce fut le bras droit du fondateur des *Ming*; militaire de grande valeur et qui maintint une très stricte discipline dans son armée.

dans cette direction, en creusant le lac du Sud, il décida d'allonger la ville en reportant le mur méridional à 650 mètres plus au Sud.

Il fallait alors dévier le *Wen ming ho*, travail facile alors, car ce cours d'eau devait être presque entièrement colmaté par les apports de sable du canal de *Lu k'ow*, qui avait dû, pour ce fait, être déjà supprimé à trois reprises¹⁾; un large fossé fut alors creusé au pied du nouveau mur du Sud pour l'écoulement des eaux de l'Ouest. Le futur empereur transforma aussi l'enceinte de la ville en s'inspirant des principes du vieux *Fung-shui chinois*²⁾; la porte du milieu du mur Nord fut supprimée et les deux portes, Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest qui restaient furent rapprochées. De plus il fallait un écran protecteur au Nord du nouveau Palais pour le préserver des influx pernicioeux qui pénètrent toujours par le Nord. Avec la terre provenant du large fossé qui avait été creusé autour du Palais proprement dit, le futur empereur fit élever la montagne artificielle du *King shan*³⁾ appelée vulgairement montagne de Charbon (*Mei shan*).

Tous ces travaux furent terminés en 1421 et l'empereur *Yung lo* vint alors s'installer avec toute sa cours dans le Palais de Peking. Le mur en terre fut surélevé dès cette époque et on commença à le revêtir de briques.

En 1437, on construisit les tours élevées sur les 9 portes et les quatre pavillons d'angle. Enfin l'enceinte entière, avec ses demi-lunes, fut achevée en 1439, telle que nous la voyions encore il y a une dizaine d'années.

Les faubourgs Nord ayant perdu toute leur importance au détriment des faubourgs Sud qui se développaient de plus en plus, on jugea utile d'entourer ceux-ci d'une muraille du même type que l'enceinte principale, mais de moindres proportions; ce travail fut terminé en 1553 et les portes fortifiées de cette nouvelle enceinte furent ajoutées en 1564.

Tout en construisant les bâtiments du nouveau palais, les parcs et les lacs de l'ancien furent embellis et de très nombreux temples y furent construits.

L'enceinte du nouveau palais date de 1417 ainsi que l'édification de la montagne de Charbon.

¹⁾ Voir p. 56, note 1.

²⁾ *Fung-shui* (風水), littéralement *Vent et Eau*. (Géomancie des Occidentaux). C'est l'ensemble extrêmement compliqué et confus des règles intervenant dans toutes les circonstances de la vie pour éviter les mauvaises influences qui entourent l'humanité d'une façon permanente.

³⁾ *King shan* (景山) ou la montagne d'où l'on a une perspective merveilleuse. Le nom de *Mei shan* (煤山), montagne de charbon lui aurait été donné par le peuple à cause d'une légende qui voulait qu'une masse de charbon y fut enfouie à la base, comme provision en cas de siège. Cette légende n'a aucune valeur, car, pendant l'occupation de Peking en 1900, un sondage, que nous avions provoqué et qui fut descendu plus bas que le sol naturel, ne donna aucune trace de charbon.

Le *Mei shan* mesure 51 mètres d'altitude au dessus de sol naturel.

H) *PEKING* des *TS'ING* (carte IV)

Nous ne dirons que très peu de choses sur ce sujet.

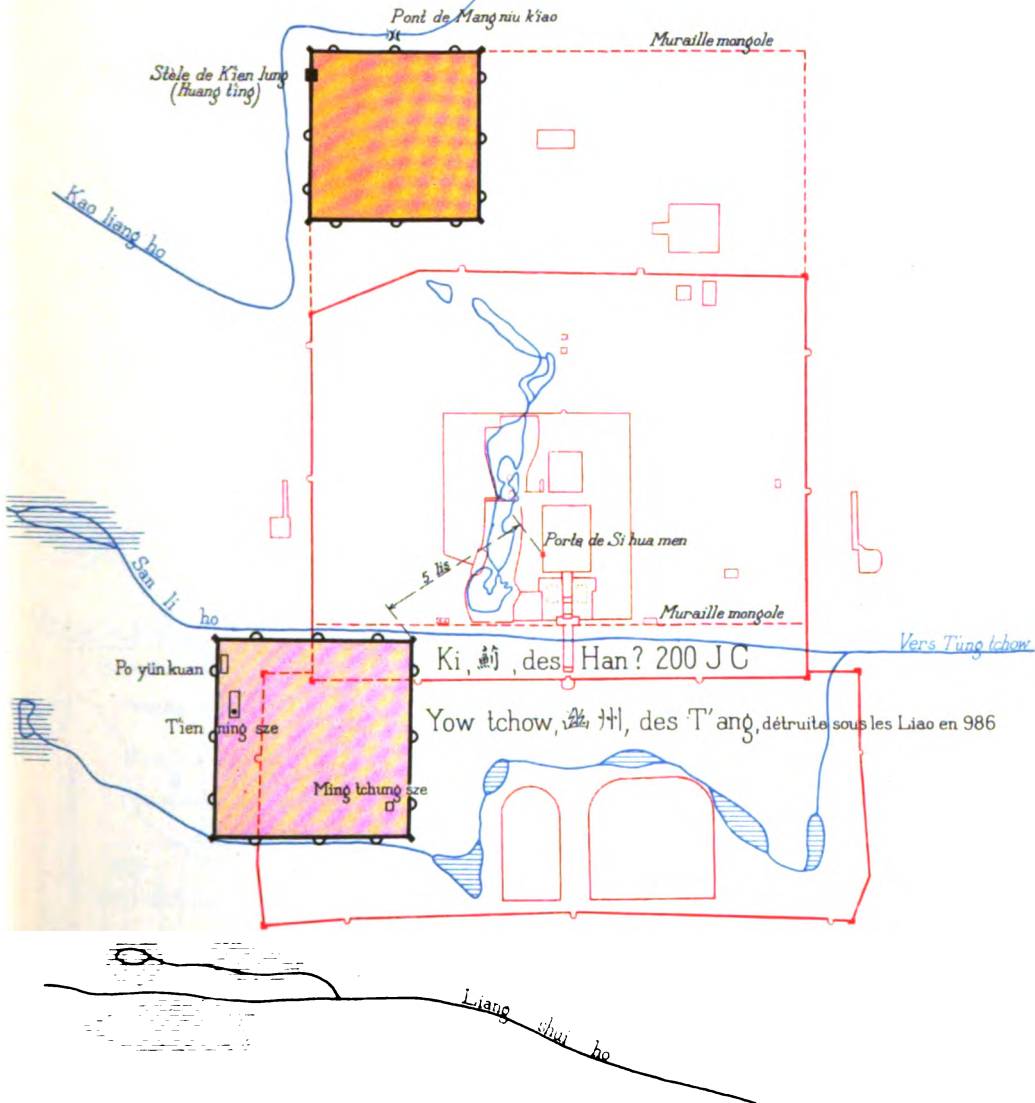
La dynastie des *Ts'ing* ne modifia pas les enceintes de la ville des *Ming* pas plus que les enceintes du Palais. Elle se contenta de reconstruire les édifices en ruines et d'édifier de nouveaux temples, soit au Palais, soit dans la ville.

Leur nomenclature appartient à l'histoire du *Peking Moderne* et ne prendra pas place dans cette note.

Emplacements des villes de Ki et de Yow-tchow

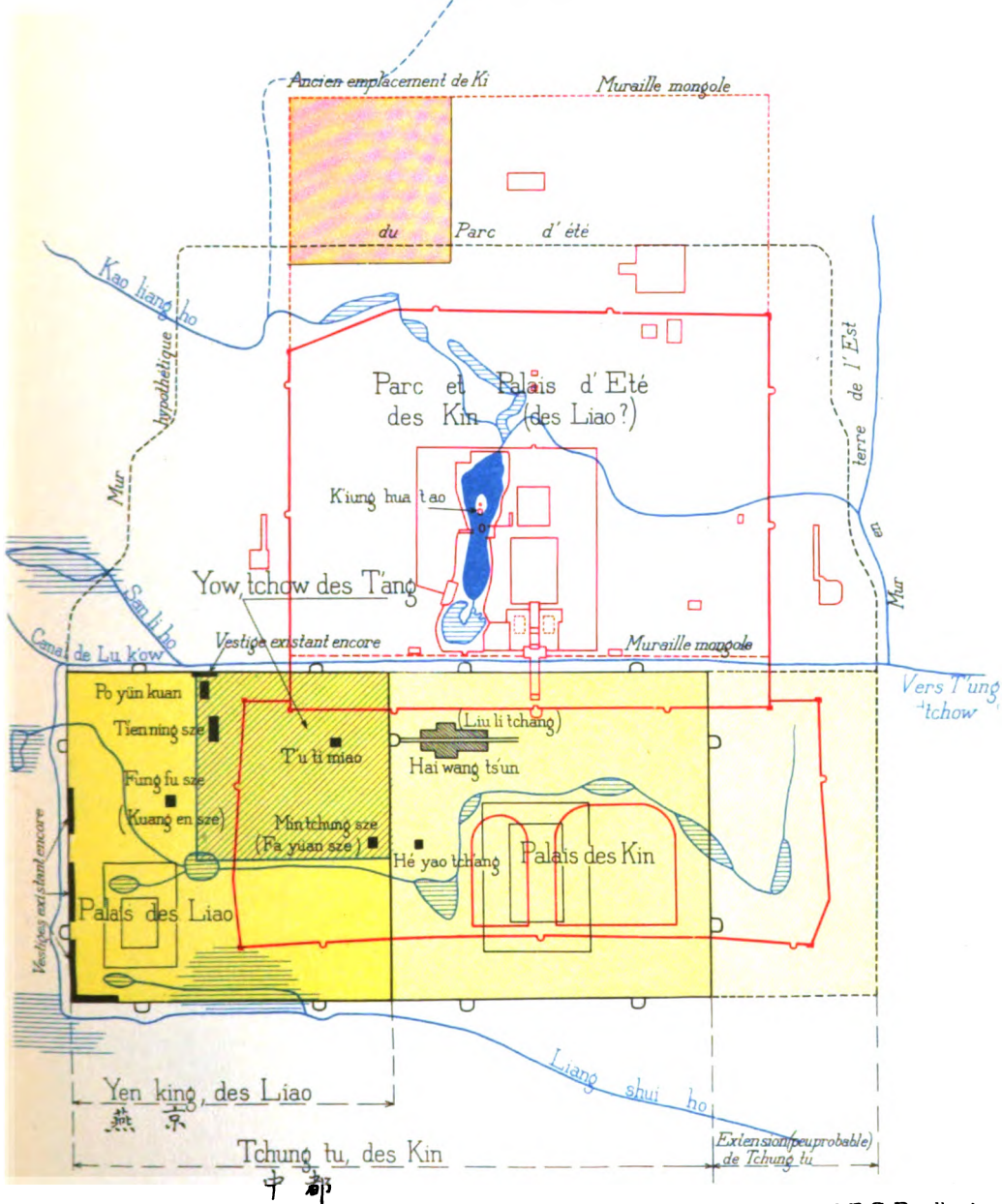
Echelle $\frac{1}{100.000}$

Ki (紀) ? { citée dès 1122 av. J.C ;
détruite en 222 av. J.C



Emplacements des villes de Yen king, des LIAO de Tchung tu, des KIN

Echelle $\frac{1}{100.000}$

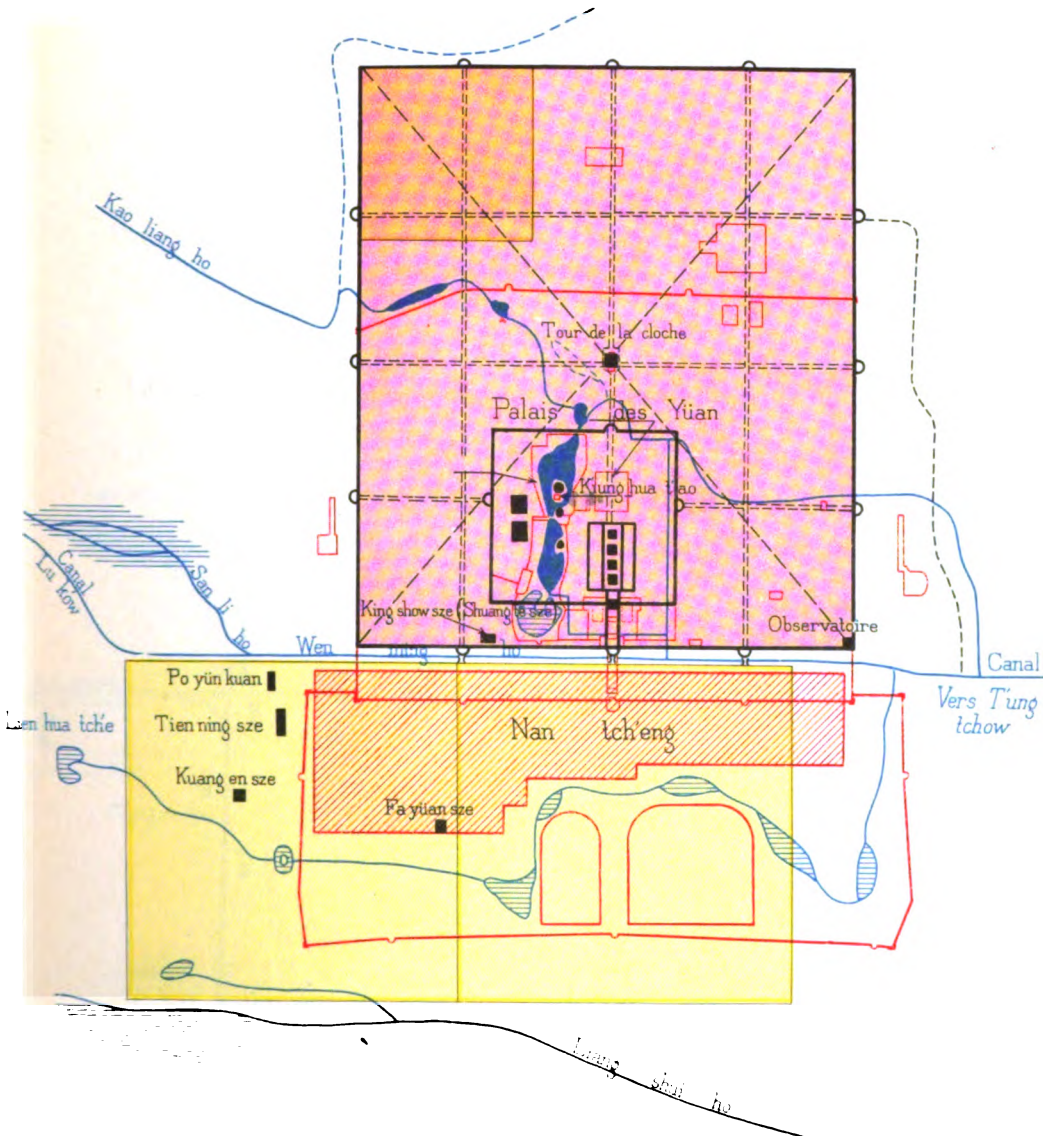


GENERALES ABENS UTOGR. ANSTALT STULM

Dressée par M^r G. Bouillard
en 1916

Emplacement de la ville de Ta tu (Khanbalik) 大都 des Mongols

Echelle $\frac{1}{100.000}$

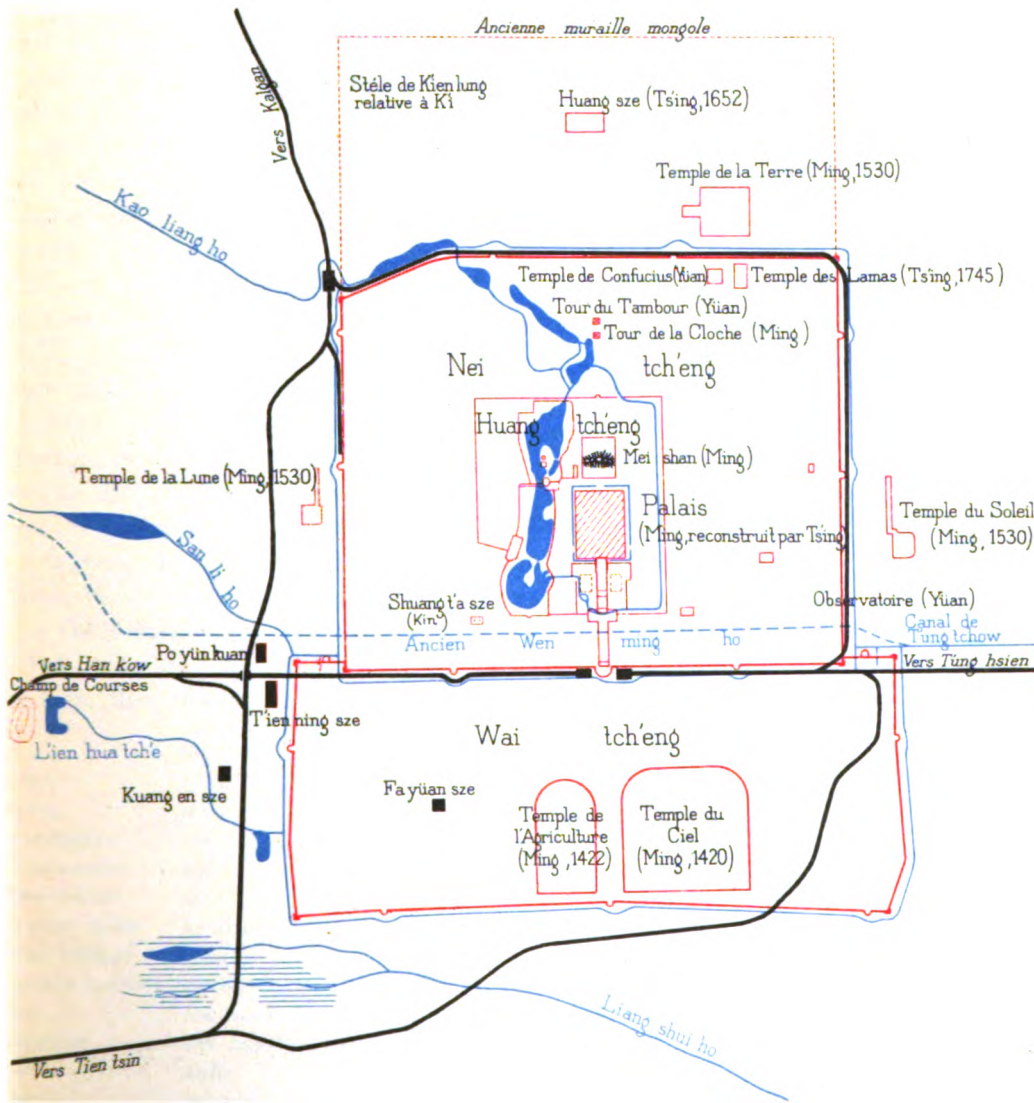


GENERAL-ABENS LITHOGR ANSTALT STILM

Dressée par M^r G. Bouillard
en 1916

Emplacement de la ville de Pe king sous les Ming, les Tsing, et actuellement

Echelle $\frac{1}{100.000}$



GENERALSTADTENS LITOG. ANSTALT STHLM.

Dressée par M^r G. Bouillard
en 1916

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHUANG IN N. KUANGSI

BY

V. K. TING

In the summer of 1928 when the writer passed through the city of Liuchou in N. Kuangsi, the Magistrate, Mr. Lu Hsi-ch'eng, who was much interested in the anthropological relation of the Chuang people under his jurisdiction, kindly procured a Chuang who spoke some Chinese and allowed me to transcribe a number of words in the Chuang language. About 80 words were thus taken down. I used a modified Wade system, e. g. using *b* for *p*, *d* for *t*, *r* for *j* and *p* and *t* for *p'* and *t'* etc. I made no attempt to differentiate the tones except when two words were identical in sound. This work in fact took me some three hours, as the Chuang spoke Chinese rather imperfectly and it was not easy to make him give the exact equivalents.

In comparing these words with those given in F. M. Savina's "Dictionnaire Tay-Annamite-Français", 1910, the only work on the Tai language to which I have access, I found that 73 out of the 80 are given in the said dictionary. The following list shows clearly the close relationship between the two languages.

I have not attempted to change the spelling given in Savina's Dictionary, although the system is quite impossible (being an adaptation of the *Quoc ngu* used as an officially recognized transcription of Annamese). For example, *x* is used for denoting *s*, *s* for *sh*, *c* for *k*, *ph* for *f*, *nh* for *ñ* (*n* mouillé as in French montagne). His *th* and *kh* seem to be the same as my *t*, *k* (= Wade *t'*, *k'*, aspirated surds), his *p* and *t* the same as my *b*, *d* (= Wade *p*, *t*, unaspirated surds). My *h-* is the fricative (*x*) in Pek. *hao* (*xao*) 'good'. My *tz-* is unaspirated surd (as in Pek. *tsên-mo*), my final *-h* means *ju shêng* ("entering tone"). In comparing the lists, this should be kept in mind.

	CHUANG	TAI		CHUANG	TAI
Father	<i>to no</i>	<i>po</i>	Chicken	<i>kai</i>	<i>cai</i>
Mother	<i>meimei</i>	<i>me</i>	Dog	<i>to ma</i> (quickly rising tone)	<i>tu ma</i>
Grandfather	<i>lao (kung)</i>	<i>pu</i>	Pig	<i>to mo</i>	<i>tu mu</i>
Grandmother	<i>nai</i>	<i>gia</i>	Water buffalo	<i>to wai</i>	<i>tu vai</i>
Elder sister	<i>ta</i>	<i>pi nhinh côc</i>	Rice	<i>hao</i>	<i>khâu</i>
Younger sister	<i>ta nuen</i>	<i>non nhinh la</i>	Cotton	<i>wai</i>	<i>phay</i>
Elder brother	<i>lung</i>	<i>pi chai</i>	Head	<i>kiao</i>	<i>hua, thua</i>
Younger brother	<i>nuen</i>	<i>non chai</i>	Ear	<i>mut rê</i>	<i>ăn xu</i>
Son	<i>lak nuen</i>	<i>luc chai</i>	Eye	<i>rem pia</i>	<i>ăn ha</i>
Daughter	<i>tak nuen</i>	<i>luc nhinh</i>	Mouth	<i>ên kao</i>	<i>pac</i>
Cow	<i>sean</i>	<i>tu mo</i>	Nose	<i>chio nan</i>	<i>ăn dăng</i>
Horse	<i>to ma</i> (slowly rising tone)	<i>tu ma</i>			

	CHUANG	TAI		CHUANG	TAI
Hair	<i>man</i>	<i>lēm peom</i>	Bed	<i>ponn</i>	<i>chu'o'ng</i>
Hand	<i>vên</i>	<i>mu'ng</i>	1	<i>dié</i>	<i>diou</i>
Foot	<i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>	2	<i>tsong</i>	<i>xong, thong</i>
Arm	<i>kien</i>	<i>khen</i>	3	<i>sam</i>	<i>xam, thum</i>
Leg	<i>ka</i>	<i>ũn kha</i>	4	<i>sat</i>	<i>thi, xi</i>
Back	<i>pei lang</i>	<i>lāng</i>	5	<i>ha</i>	<i>ha</i>
Breast	<i>na ak</i>	<i>na āc</i>	6	<i>rok</i>	<i>soc</i>
Bird	<i>rok</i>	<i>tu nóc</i>	7	<i>set</i>	<i>chât</i>
Mountain	<i>piak</i>	<i>pu</i>	8	<i>pet</i>	<i>pet</i>
River	<i>da</i>	<i>ta</i>	9	<i>kiu</i>	<i>câu</i>
Stones	<i>hin</i>	<i>hin</i>	10	<i>tzep</i>	<i>thip, zip</i>
Man	<i>ponn</i>	<i>po chai</i>	20	<i>ni tip</i>	<i>nhi thip</i>
Drum	<i>kiung</i>	<i>phăn</i>	100	<i>pat</i>	<i>pac nung</i>
House	<i>ran</i>	<i>ru'o'n</i>	1,000	<i>chien tio</i>	<i>thien</i>
Sword	<i>mit</i>	<i>măc kien</i>	I	<i>ku</i>	<i>khôi</i>
Sky	<i>ban</i>	<i>bôn</i>	You	<i>mung</i>	<i>mo'u</i>
Earth	<i>nam</i>	<i>din</i>	He	<i>dai</i>	<i>te</i>
Sun	<i>tit</i>	<i>tha vãn</i>	Blue	<i>héhah</i>	<i>căm pu'c</i>
Moon	<i>dê ê</i>	<i>ăn hai</i>	Red	<i>ting</i>	<i>deng</i>
Star	<i>dê ti</i>	<i>dao di</i>	White	<i>hao</i>	<i>khao</i>
Tree	<i>fai</i>	<i>lăm may</i>	Yellow	<i>hein</i>	<i>hen</i>
Rain	<i>huen</i>	<i>năm phôn</i>	Black	<i>nam</i>	<i>dam</i>
Wind	<i>rum</i>	<i>lom</i>	To go	<i>nan</i>	<i>keo</i>
Fire	<i>fei</i>	<i>phay</i>	To sleep	<i>nin</i>	<i>non</i>
Water	<i>ram</i>	<i>năm</i>			
To drink water	<i>gên ram</i>	<i>kin năm</i>			

It is seen that out of 73 words 46 are either identical or closely related. Of the rest, 5, namely, the words for nose, moon, tree, rain and cotton, are probably of the same origin. The other 22 are apparently different. It is remarkable that the terms for family relations and for sense organs should be so different, whilst those for bodily parts, domestic animals, colour, personal pronouns, numericals as well as most of the elementary objects are so closely similar. In the case of family relations it is perhaps explicable, for in the various Chinese dialects apparently different terms are also in use. Several terms expressing the same relation exist also within one dialect. The difference in the terms for sense organs is more puzzling. Otherwise the close relationship between the language of the Chuang and that of the Tai is evident.

Of the variations in the words clearly related the following points are of interest.

1. *d* in one language corresponds to *t* in the other. Thus: —

	CHUANG	TAI
River	<i>da</i>	<i>ta</i>
He	<i>dai</i>	<i>te</i>
Red	<i>ting</i>	<i>deng</i>
Star	<i>dê ti</i>	<i>dao di</i>

If the first two of these are only apparent (due to different transcription systems), the other are real.

2. *l* corresponds to *r*. Thus: —

	CHUANG	TAI
Wind	rum	lom

According to Savina this happens also in the different dialects of Tai.

3. *n* in Tai corresponds to *r* in Chuang. Thus: —

	CHUANG	TAI
Bird	rok	noc
Water	ram	nam

This is not surprising when we remember that in many district in China *n*, *l* and *r* are often confused.

4. In Chuang *n* corresponds to *d* in Tai. Thus: —

	CHUANG	TAI
Earth	nam	din
Black	nam	dam

Perhaps *chio nan*, 'nose', in Chuang is equivalent to *ăn dăng*, *chio* and *ăn* being pronominal particles.

5. To aspirated surd ("kh") in Tai corresponds in Chuang sometimes aspirated surd ("k"), sometimes fricative *h*:

	CHUANG	TAI
Arm	kien	khen
I	ku	khoi
Rice	hao	khâu
White	hao	khao

6. The following cases are more doubtful, but rather suggestive.

a. *m* in Tai corresponds to *v* or *f* in Chuang. Thus: —

	CHUANG	TAI
Hand	vên	mung
Tree	fai	may

b. *f* in Tai corresponds to *h* or *w* in Chuang. Thus: —

	CHUANG	TAI
Rain	huen	phôn
Cotton	wai	phay

7. As in Tai the Chuang has its pronominal particles. *to* is evidently equivalent to *tu*, *dê* to *dao*. *ên* is probably the same as *ăn*. Possibly *rem* is another variant.

8. The words for horse and chicken, and many of the numerals, e. g., 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 20, 100 and 1000, are evidently the same as those in Chinese.

9. As in Tai, the adjective in Chuang comes after the noun it qualifies, so *bang hao* is 'white cloth', but the object comes after the verb, thus *ku mok mung*, 'I strike you'.

Considering the distance between the two tribes and the time that has passed since they were in communication, the close similarity of the two languages is another proof of the wide-spread influence of the Shan Empire of Tali which included the whole of Yünnan, part of Kueichou, Kuangsi, Indo-China, and Burma.

ON SYMBOLISM IN THE PREHISTORIC PAINTED CERAMICS OF CHINA

BY

J. G. ANDERSSON¹⁾

Ever since the discovery in 1921 of prehistoric sites in China containing painted pottery, it has been recognized that there exists a striking similarity between those ceramics and contemporaneous ware of Anau, Tripolje, and possibly other Near Eastern sites of the Stone-Copper Ages. It will suffice in this connection to refer to my paper *An Early Chinese Culture*, pp. 34—41, containing statements by Hobson and Hall, and to Arne's paper *Painted Stone Age Pottery from Honan*.

In these early comparisons only geometric similarities were noted, and no attempt was made to identify the ideas possibly underlying the designs.

When excavating the rich prehistoric sites of Kansu in 1923—24, I made an observation which has later proved to be of fundamental importance for the study of this subject. In the *dwelling-sites* of the Yang Shao stage there occur in great abundance bowls and pots of a fine painted ware with decorations executed only in black and in design strongly reminiscent of the painted ware of Yang Shao Tsun, the type locality in Honan.

In the Kansu *graves* of the Yang Shao period an entirely different type of pottery was found. The ware is exactly the same as that found on the ancient village sites, but the shape of the vessels is different, and the designs, executed in two colors, black and red, are carried out in characteristic and elaborate patterns, among which one element, present in all mortuary urns, but entirely absent in the village site pottery, was described in my *Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu* as the *death pattern*.

A further step in the interpretation of the painted patterns was taken after our return to Sweden in 1925 by my wife, who pointed out that certain figures upon urns of the Ma Chang stage are representations of the *cowrie*, *Cypraea moneta*, a small marine shell which has played a singular role in the spiritual life of primitive man.

In the summer of 1928, when preparing my popular book *China before History*, I made a study of the significance of the cowrie shell, obtaining guidance especially from the works of Schneider and Jackson, and at the same time carrying out my research-work on the distribution of the cowrie design in early Chinese art.

¹⁾ A very full and profusely illustrated representation of these ceramics will be found in my popular book *China before History* and specially in the monographs on the prehistoric ceramics of Kansu, which I am now preparing for the *Palaeontologia Sinica* in collaboration with my research assistant Dr. N. Palmgren. For this reason no illustrations are given in this preliminary note.

At this time I had the pleasure of receiving at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm a distinguished visitor, Professor B. Bogajevsky of Leningrad, who came to study our painted pottery for the special purpose of comparing its designs with those of the South Russian Tripolje ceramics. Professor Bogajevsky brought with him an extensive collection of photographs of Tripolje sherds, and upon examining them under his guidance I noticed figures strikingly like our cowrie designs upon the Kansu urns. Our next step was to review the whole cowrie material accumulated in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, and very soon Professor Bogajevsky not only became convinced of the presence of the cowrie design in the Tripolje pottery, but he carried the comparisons a step further and even saw in his Russian material parallels to the death pattern of Kansu. The outcome of these studies was that Professor Bogajevsky kindly promised to prepare for us a paper on cowrie and death-pattern designs in the Tripolje ceramics.

In the autumn of 1928 I gave at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities a series of lectures on the prehistory of China. Among the audience were Dr. Sune Ambrosiani and Miss Louise Hagberg of the staff of Nordiska Museet, and they made me acquainted with their own researches on the prophylactic role given to serrated designs in folklore. Miss Hagberg had already, quite independently of me, connected the serrated design of the death pattern of the Kansu pottery with the folklore elements studied by her.

In connection with my lectures I came to discuss also the patterns of the Kansu funeral urns with Dr. Hanna Rydh, who called my attention to the similarity of the Kansu death pattern to the incised designs upon certain megalithic mortuary urns of Scandinavia, as for instance the magnificent vessel reproduced by Sophus Müller in *Oldtidens Kunst*, vol. I., fig. 121.

Out of these initial comparisons developed the very interesting article which Dr. Rydh has written at my request, and which follows this brief note.

Dr. Rydh has searched very extensively in European archaeological literature and accumulated a vast store of facts bearing upon the problems here in question. In certain details I have not been able to corroborate her conclusions. Especially with reference to the origin and significance of the death pattern, I feel that interpretations along the lines indicated by Dr. Ambrosiani and Miss Hagberg might be taken into account together with the fascinating combinations forwarded by Dr. Rydh.

In inviting the cooperation of Professor Bogajevsky and Dr. Rydh for the interpretation of these problems, a difficulty arose in the fact that my own material from Kansu has so far not been fully published. My *Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu* only gave some very brief outlines. A much fuller treatment, especially of the folk-lore side of the problem, will be given in my popular account *China before History*, soon to appear, and the main bulk of the Kansu mortuary urns will be monographically described in *Mortuary Urns of*

the *Panshan Grave Fields*, now in preparation as a joint paper by me and my research assistant, Dr. N. Palmgren. Pending the appearance of these publications I have here given a very brief summary of my observations on the mortuary pottery of Kansu and its relationship to the contemporary ceramics of the dwelling sites.

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From the Panshan grave fields in Ning Ting Hsien of Kansu we have collected more than 200 urns, representing a very homogeneous family of ceramics, all decorated with the death pattern. This design, which was first described by me in my *Preliminary Report* etc. p. 13, consists of a central line of red, accompanied on both sides by black fields, from which project dentations which just touch the borders of the central red line.

The painted decoration of the Panshan urns is very varied: some are covered with horizontal concentric lines, others with bold zig-zag patterns, another large group with four strong spirals, others again with four gourd-shaped figures, etc. But in every one of these widely differing designs the death pattern element occurs with unfailing persistence.

The Panshan sites had already been exploited to a great extent by the local population before my arrival, but our own excavations, combined with the information obtained from the villagers, has proved beyond the slightest doubt that all the four Panshan sites, Wa Kuan Tsui, Panshan, Pien Chia Kou, and Wang Chia Kou, were exclusively *grave sites*, without any intermixture of dwelling-site elements.

The four Pan Shan grave-fields lie close together upon some hill-tops overlooking the Tao valley, some 400 metres above the river-plain of this valley. It is evident that the settlements that used these burial-places were located down in the valley upon the low terraces, only 20—50 metres above modern riverplain.

The richest site in the Tao valley, contemporaneous with the Panshan graves, is Ma Chia Yao, situated 20 km. further up the valley upon a low terrace only about 30 metres above the river-plain. This dwelling-site was extensively excavated by us during several weeks, and a large and excellent material is in my hands. The deposit consists of the usual ashy earth, well known to us all since the excavation of the Yang Shao dwelling-site in 1921, and recurring in every dwelling-site in Honan, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansu. The ashy earth is the usual loess soil profusely intermixed with charcoal ash and pottery debris, the typical refuse material of the North China prehistoric settlements.

In addition to instruments of stone and bone, the furniture of the Ma Chia Yao dwelling-site consists in the main of potsherds, some undecorated, but the majority painted black only. (It should be specially emphasised that red was never used in the painting of this dwelling-site pottery). The ware of the Ma Chia Yao painted pottery is identical with that of the Panshan urns, but the shape

of the vessels is different. Bowls which are rare and of crude make in the mortuary sites abound in Ma Chia Yao in highly varied shapes and sizes. Urns also occur in smaller numbers, but they are different in shape from those of the Panshan graves.

All the Ma Chia Yao painted ceramics are, as already stated, decorated *only in black* and the design is entirely different from that of the mortuary pottery, being drawn much more freely in simple wave-lines, curved triangles, and dots. Sometimes there occur plant-like designs or "frog-designs", which are entirely unknown on the grave urns.

From the Ma Chia Yao site we possess 6,043 sherds which correspond to the above description of the dwelling-site pottery. Among this overwhelming proportion of village pottery there were found a very few fragments of urns identical with the Panshan type. These are fragments of a pot poorly painted and possibly discarded as useless. Furthermore, there are 6 small sherds from beautifully decorated typical urns of the Panshan family.

This rare occurrence of small fragments of Panshan urns in the Ma Chia Yao dwelling-site is only just sufficient to prove that the two sites were contemporaneous, Ma Chia Yao being remains of the ancient village down in the valley, in contrast to Panshan, the grave-field upon the high hills bordering the valley. It is very likely that continued research in the Tao valley will reveal other dwelling-sites of the same period nearer to the Panshan graves, but the identity of the ware and the relationship of the few "mortuary" sherds at Ma Chia Yao to the Panshan type is so striking, that we feel inclined to consider the possibility of the Ma Chia Yao dead being buried at Panshan.

The exceedingly rare occurrence of Panshan sherds at Ma Chia Yao (0.1 % out of the whole material) is easily explained by assuming that the potters who made the funeral urns lived in the village and that during the manufacture occasional accidents occurred, resulting in rare instances of mortuary sherds being intermixed in the overwhelming bulk of village site pottery.

It seems that the Panshan grave-fields and the Ma Chia Yao dwelling-site represent the flower of the Yang Shao period of Kansu. In the terms of Mediterranean archaeology I would name these sites *Middle Yang Shao*. We are fortunate also in knowing sites of the *Early Yang Shao* and the *Late Yang Shao*.

The Lo Han Tang site in the Kueite valley, in the Tibetan section of the Yellow river, is a typically Early Yang Shao site, still retaining numerous elements of the preceding Chi Chia period. No graves were found in this small but rich site, and all the painted sherds are of the Ma Chia Yao type.

Chu Chia Chai in Hsi Ning Hsien is a Late Yang Shao deposit with numerous elements foreshadowing the slightly later Ma Chang pottery. Chu Chia Chai is a site of fundamental importance, because it was carefully excavated in 1923 under my personal superintendence and because it is a combined dwelling-site and grave-field. In the ashy earth, the village refuse, the sherds are of the Ma Chia Yao

type with an intermixture of a slightly younger family of painted ceramics. In the village necropolis 47 graves were excavated under my direct supervision and all the records were taken down by me personally. All the pottery in these graves was of the Panshan type, with the death pattern, but with clear foreshadowings of the approaching Ma Chang mortuary pottery. Here we have side by side the village site with Ma Chia Yao pottery and the necropolis where these villagers buried their dead together with death pattern urns. These observations in the Hsi Ning Ho valley confirm beyond doubt our conclusions from the rich Tao Ho sites that the Ma Chia Yao pottery was intended for the service of the living but the Panshan urns for the worship of the dead, and that the two types of ceramics are strictly contemporaneous, originating from the same village but manufactured for two contrasting purposes.

In my book *China before History* and the monograph on the Panshan urns the reader will find a full interpretation of the symbolism underlying the painted designs. Here it will suffice to give the following indications.

The cowrie design, occurring on the Ma Chang urns and probably also on some Panshan specimens as well as certain sherds from Ho Yin Hsien in Honan (Andersson: *Early Chinese Cult.*, Pl. XIII, fig. 8. Arne: *Paint. Pottery*, Pl. V, fig. 13), is, as shown by Jackson and Elliot Smith, undoubtedly a life-inspiring fertility symbol which has been transferred to the death cult for the benefit of the departed upon his entry into the new life.

The fact that in the Yang Shao period of Kansu *red* was tabooed for the living and devoted only to the mortuary cult indicates that its character as a symbol of the blood, the strongest carrier of life according to the ideas of primitive man, was in this region withdrawn from the blessings given to living men and offered only to the deceased upon his departure for the dreaded journey into the land of the dead.

The serrated structures which, together with the red lines, form the death pattern, are certainly a symbol devoted to the mortuary cult, but I refrain here from any attempt to interpret its origin and meaning. The papers of Ambrosiani, Hagberg, and Rydh indicate some of the roads along which such explanations may be found.

Other designs on the Panshan urns, such as the powerful spirals, the gourd-shaped flasks and the chess-board pattern, are most likely of symbolical significance. Dr. Rydh's paper on the subject is highly suggestive.

From the above notes it would appear that the designs of the mortuary urns are full of symbols, most of them, or possibly all, signifying a vitalizing power offered for the benefit of the dead.

So far we know nothing definite about symbolism in the simple and less orthodox designs of the Ma Chia Yao village site pottery. However, we may be justified in regarding the mysterious "frog-like" designs as one of the symbols possibly devoted to the living.

ON SYMBOLISM IN MORTUARY CERAMICS

BY

HANNA RYDH

INTRODUCTION

On one occasion when Professor J. G. Andersson showed me his Chinese Neolithic sepulchral pottery, especially emphasizing the so-called "death-pattern", (cf. text fig. 1)¹⁾ it occurred to me that this design, as applied to such a vessel as that of Pl. I: 1, is highly suggestive of ornamental motives on Northern Megalithic pottery.

If the Danish vessel, Pl. I: 3, — which is incidentally, the finest existing specimen of Northern Megalithic pottery — is compared with that shown in Pl. I: 1²⁾, each of the two vessels will seem to be an attempt at rendering the same ornamental motive, the one in colour, and the other by means of incised lines. The contrasting effect and the emphasizing of the vertical "death-pattern", produced on the Chinese specimen by polychrome technique, are brought out in the Northern vessel by means of an alternation of plain and incised compartments.³⁾ The incision was probably effected by pressing the wavy edge of a *Cardium* shell against the soft clay. Similarities may also be traced in some details, such as the triangle band near the mouth, and the lattice pattern, as well as the general distribution of the decoration.

Professor Andersson declared himself as convinced as I was myself of the striking resemblance between the two kinds of ornamentation, and I set about making closer examination of some material, original as well as pictorial. At first I hardly had any definite intention of publishing my results, but, as the idea has become increasingly interesting, I have decided to present the following points of view. I am doing this without any pretensions to completeness in my collection of examples, either in the case of stating the local presence of a motive, or when proving its universality by means of foreign material. For it is evident to me that I have entered unawares upon an exceedingly rich subject, where every suggestion entails another and hypotheses may be propounded in abundance, but where attempts at interpretations are as yet necessarily vague. A positive result — if at all attainable — could be achieved only after a thorough investigation of the material. As I have not at present the time required for such researches, and having been invited by Professor Andersson to contribute to his publication, I shall have to content myself with a preliminary communication.

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, *Preliminary report on archaeological research in Kansu* in *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of China*, Ser. A, (1925), no. 5, fig. 2.

²⁾ There are numerous parallels to the ornamentation of this vessel in the above-mentioned publication of Prof. Andersson.

³⁾ S. Müller, *Oldtidens Kunst, (Stenalderens Kunst)*, Kjöbenhavn, (1918), p. 39.

THE "DEATH-PATTERN", A COMPOSITION IN TRIANGULAR ORNAMENTATION

To begin with, I devoted myself only to observing, as a study in ornamentation, the development in Northern Europe of the "death-pattern" motive on the Skarpsalling-vessel, Pl. I: 3. This vessel indicates the very perfection of Northern Stone Age pottery, and I could thus presume a degeneration of the motive in later instances. It proved, indeed, to have so disintegrated as to be unrecognizable on pottery that is not very carefully executed, and it occurs in a degraded form on a far larger number of vessels than might have been supposed on a

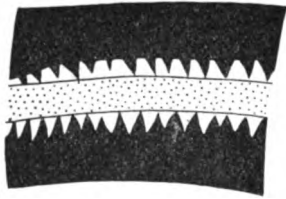


Fig. 1. The "death-pattern" of the funeral urns of the Yang Shao period in Kansu, China. From J. G. Andersson, *Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu*, fig. 2, in *The Geological Survey of China*, Memoirs, Series A, nr. 5, (1925).



Fig. 2. Mortuary urn. Gantofta, Skåne, Sweden. From Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 755. — $\frac{1}{4}$.

first estimate. Very likely this composite motive is not the primary one, but rather a composition developed out of a simpler motive. According to my theory, its chief constituent is the triangle, so frequent in Neolithic ceramics. In Pl. I: 4 it is shown how ornaments were made up of two angular bands placed symmetrically. Compare with Pl. I: 4 both the "death-pattern" of Pl. I: 3 and fig. 1, as well as Pl. I: 1. Pl. I: 6 supplements this picture.

TRIANGULAR ORNAMENTATION AND THE "DEATH-PATTERN" IN NORTHERN POTTERY

Pl. I: 2, Pl. II: 1 and text fig. 2—4 illustrate some examples, taken at random, of long-barrow pottery with ornamentation of single triangular bands. Such examples could easily be multiplied. (The vessel shown in Pl. II: 4, 5 — which I shall discuss directly — and several others show how single triangular bands and the "death-pattern" appear on the same object. The same applies to Chinese vessels, as is proved by Pl. I: 1.

The incised triangular composition on the vessel, Pl. I: 3, was compared above with the Chinese "death-pattern". As will appear from the technique used, it

was regarded as a continuous pattern, in which the angles were made by means of pressing in a hollow object, in this case probably a thin reed. This regularity of execution was conducive to the rapid degeneration of the motive. Uniform incised bands do occur, it is true, as for instance in Pl. II: 2, 3, but on account of the implement used, the ornament, which was intended to be symmetrical, was made from one side at a time, and thus easily lost its symmetry and consequently soon its character. Even on a vessel as elaborate as that in Pl. I: 3, the opposite triangles tend to become dislocated in relation to each other. By means of two examples mentioned below, we can observe the transformation of the "death-pattern" in Northern ceramics even to the extent of their becoming unrecognizable. Pl. II: 4, 5 are reproductions of a vessel from a long-barrow at Odder in the district of Had, Jutland, which may seem to resemble the Skarpsalling



Fig. 3. Fragment of mortuary urn. Åsahögen, Skåne, Sweden. From Montelius, *Album pré-historique*, fig. 751. — $\frac{1}{3}$.

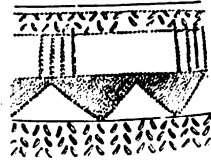


Fig. 4. Detail of decoration upon a mortuary urn. Gundestrup, parish of Grevinge, Zealand, Denmark. From C. A. Nordman, *Jættestuer i Danmark*. (*Nouvelles fouilles de "Chambres de Géants" en Danemark*) in *Nordiske Fortidsminder*, II: 2, fig. 20. — $\frac{1}{4}$.

vessel, but is obviously executed with considerably less technical skill. We manifestly have, however, in Pl. II: 4, compartment b, the same kind of "toothed" band as on the Skarpsalling vessel. The ornamentation of the vessel from Odder, however, also shows various symptoms of further decline. In Pl. II: 5, compartment b, it is ruder and asymmetrical, and in compartment c even ruder still, so as to give rather the impression of a band of small indentations. In Pl. II: 5, compartments a and b, the impresses have an oblique position altogether different from the original intention and appearance of the ornament. The decoration of the vessel, Pl. III: 1, is quite comprehensible if compared with compartment c of Pl. II: 5, but without a connecting link its derivation from the Skarpsalling ornament would be rather hard to trace. The finest forms of zigzag bands are represented by vessels such as those shown in Pl. II: 6 and Pl. III: 6. A conventionalized and ruder form of the same ornament is shown in Pl. III: 3. A kind of intermediate position between the latter ornaments and those of Pl. II: 5, compartments a and c, is held by the corresponding motive in Pl. IV: 1. We see it again in Pl. II: 7, still ruder and multiple.

A peculiar variation of decoration is shown in Pl. II: 8 (cf. Pl. III: 6). Out of such a pattern may be developed an increased conventionalizing and spreading of the motive, Pl. III: 8. This will finally result in a kind of indentations such as those in Pl. III: 2, where a vertical division into panels is still retained, or in Pl. III: 4, where the decoration is spread over a surface, in this case the handle of a vessel.



Fig. 5. Mortuary urn. Gantofta, Skåne, Sweden. From Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 744. — $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 6. Mortuary urn. Augerum, Blekinge, Sweden. From Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 775: b. — $\frac{1}{2}$.

If we return once more to the motive of the Skarpsalling vessel, Pl. I: 3 and Pl. II: 2, 3, comparing it with the fragment of Pl. III: 7, we shall find a close resemblance between the ornamentation in compartment a of Pl. III: 7 and that of Pl. II: 2, 3, while in compartment b it has been evolved to such a breadth as to cause the loss of its original appearance. The pattern recurs in this form on a considerable number of vessels. Sometimes the motive of the "sun-disc" is less, sometimes more, conventionalized, fig. 5, Pl. III: 5.

The vertical ornament of Pl. IV: 2 will perhaps also prove of importance if compared with the design of Pl. I: 3 and Pl. II: 2, 3 as well as Pl. III: 7 compartment a. The ornament in question was, however, effected in another way, and, owing to the vigorous vertical dividing line, we do not at the first glance view it as a "toothed" symmetrical band recalling the pattern of the Skarpsalling vessel. The same design is still more simplified on the vessel, Pl. IV: 4.

On finding in a long-barrow a vessel as rough and poorly decorated as that shown in Pl. IV: 3, one is naturally apt to look upon it as a rude dwelling-site vessel of the well-known type. The ornamentation is done with a stamp, and we may infer from the motive in compartment a that it was probably intended

to represent triangles similar to those of text fig. 5, (cf. especially the horizontal decoration of the lip).

Akin to triangular ornamentation is angular band ornamentation, of which I must content myself with showing only one example, in text fig. 6. I anticipate the following account by pointing out the similarity of ornamental arrangements in text fig. 6 and Pl. XI: 2 as well as fig. 26, e and Pl. VII: 7, 8.

TRIANGULAR ORNAMENTATION ON POTTERY IN CENTRAL, WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE

A direct parallel to the painted Chinese "death-pattern" as shown in Pl. I: 1, is found in incised Megalithic pottery ornamentation. This pattern was especially



Fig. 7. Fragments of clay vessels from the dwelling-site at Schmöckwitz, parish of Teltow, Brandenburg. After a photograph, published with the authorization of the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Prähist. Abt., Berlin.



Fig. 8. Fragment of mortuary urn. Odoorn, Drenthe, Netherlands. From N. Åberg, *Die Steinzeit in den Niederlanden* in Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1916, fig. 10. —, 2/3.

used in Scandinavia, above all in Denmark and Skåne. An accidental find from the dwelling-site at Schmöckwitz, in Brandenburg, is seen in fig. 7, representing some fragments of vessels, and in fig. 8 we see another from a "Steingrab" at Drenthe, in Holland.¹⁾ We come across the motive in a similar form in the Aeneolithic Palmella-Ciempozuelos ceramics in Spain, fig. 9.

The frequency of triangular ornamentation is too well-known a fact to make it worth while enumerating in detail the various styles of ceramics in which it is prevalent. It would suffice to refer to scientific books of reference, but I will nevertheless exemplify the wide extension of its occurrence by means of some important instances, without aiming at completeness in any respect.

In Northern Germany triangular ornamentation is represented in Megalithic pottery, also in such styles developed in Central Germany as reveal any inspiration from Megalithic ceramics. Pl. VI: 1 shows a vessel of late Rössener type, and

¹⁾ N. Åberg, *Die Steinzeit in den Niederlanden*, Upsala, (1916), p. 36, where there is reproduced still another vessel with similar ornamentation in the "fine art's" style ("den skonne Stil").

Pl. VI: 2 one in the Walternienburger style. The neck and bulge of the Kugel-amphorae are often decorated with triangle and lattice designs. The Kugel-amphorae no doubt influenced the Saxon-Thuringian amphorae, which are represented here by an early type, Pl. VI: 3, with a beautiful ornament in "Furchenstich". To the same area of civilization belongs also the cup of fig. 10 with its characteristic triangular ornament in "cord" technique, which was transferred to

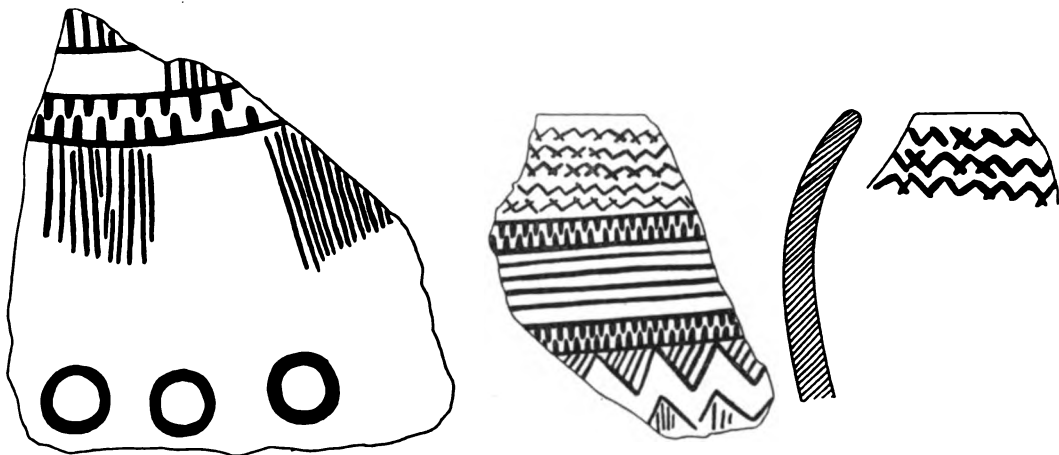


Fig. 9. Fragments of clay vessels from the cave dwelling-site Cova Fonda de Salamó, Catalonia, Spain. From N. Åberg, *La Civilisation Néolithique dans la Péninsule Ibérique*, fig. 190—191. — $\frac{2}{3}$.

the "Zonenbecher" in the West of Germany.¹⁾ These triangle decorations in "cord" technique are on the whole very frequent in ceramics.

In the Hinkelstein-style of South-eastern Germany, belonging to the band-type of ceramics, there are vessels with triangular ornamentation as shown in fig. 11. Pottery from lake-dwellings often consists of large, unornamented vessels, but in the Schussenried ceramics (Wurtemberg), for instance, we find triangular decoration, although as a rule possessing a character of its own, fig. 12.

In France, triangular ornamentation is found in the well-known ceramics of the Camp de Chassey. Fig. 13 represents a fine "support de vase" from Charente. Fig. 14 shows a British vessel of the bell-shaped type of beakers, decorated with a triangular ornament characteristic of the British type. It does not as a rule, however, occur in the bell-shaped beakers, but is found in the "Zonenbecher"²⁾ of Western Germany. In Pl. VI: 5 we see a reproduction of a Scottish vessel with triangular decoration. In the Iberian Peninsula ceramic ornamentation is of special interest. I will revert to this fact below; for the present a vessel is reproduced here in Pl. VI: 4. Triangular ornamentation may be exemplified within

¹⁾ Cf. N. Åberg, *Das Nordische Kulturgebiet*, II, fig. 292.

²⁾ Cf. N. Åberg, *Das Nordische Kulturgebiet*, I, p. 195.



Fig. 10. Mortuary urn. Sec-kenheim, Hess.-Darm., Ger-many. From Sprater, *Die Urgesch. der Pfalz*, fig. 24. Cf. N. Åberg, *Das Nordische Kulturgebiet*, fig. 285.



Fig. 11. Mortuary(?) urn. Worms-Rheingewann, Ger-many. From Ebert, *Reallexi-kon*, V, art. Hinkelstein, pl. 99, fig. 6. — $\frac{1}{7}$.



Fig. 12. Vessel from a lake-dwelling. Schussenried-Ried-schachen, Germany. From H. Reinerth, *Die Chronologie der jüngeren Steinzeit in Süd-Deutschland*, pl. VIII: 9. — $\frac{1}{4}$.

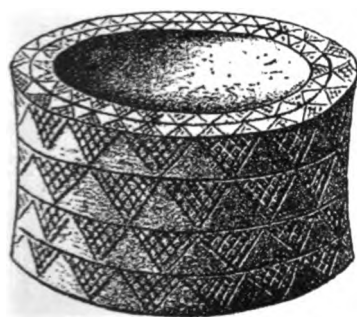


Fig. 13. "Support de vase" from a megalithic tomb. Dolmen de la Garde, Charente, France. From A. de Mortillet, *Supports de vases néo-lithiques* in REA, 1901, p. 370, fig. 121. Cf. J. Déchelette, *Manuel*, I, fig. 205, p. 557. — $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 14. Clay vessel. Fifeshire, Scotland. From *Archæologia*, LXI, p. III. Cf. N. Åberg, *Das Nordische Kulturgebiet*, fig. 300.

different Italian Neolithic groups of civilization. It occurs for instance in Northern Italy, although perhaps less frequently on ceramic than on objects of bone and horn (especially combs) in the *terremare*,¹⁾ and in Central Italy on vessels such as those of fig. 15. Special interest attaches to Sicily, where there are two rival types, the western Villafrati culture, whose pottery is characterized by incised ornaments, fig. 16, and the chiefly eastern Stentinello culture²⁾ with both incised and painted pottery. In Malta, whose Neolithic culture was of a very high



Fig. 15. Urn from the cave Caverna delle Arene Candide, Liguria, Italy. In this cave, which has served as a dwelling-site, there was also a number of burials. For this reason it is uncertain whether this vessel belongs to the dwelling-site or the mortuary ceramics. From Morelli, *Iconografia*, pl. XCV: 9. Cf. Montelius, *Civ. prim.*, Série B, pl. 116: 21. — ¹/₂.



Fig. 16. Pottery fragments from an "abri"-dwelling-place with burials. Moarda, Sicily. From Ebert, *Reallexikon*, XII, art. Sizilien. pl. 32: c.

standard, pottery with triangular ornamentation is to be found, but there also occur painted types, in respect of which a connexion with Eastern Europe seems probable.³⁾

TRIANGULAR ORNAMENTATION IN POTTERY VESSELS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND ADJACENT AREAS

Balkan pottery is exceedingly interesting. Both incised and painted triangular decoration occur in Thessalian Neolithic pottery, Pl. VI: 6. It is particularly interesting to compare the painted design of the vessel, Pl. V: 1 with Pl. V: 2. The former is a variant of the Chinese painted "death-pattern" (cf. fig. 1 and Pl. I: 1), the latter a corresponding incised specimen and, at the same time, a pendant to the Northern motive represented in Pl. I: 3, Pl. II: 2, 3. The Balkan Peninsula is the main district for painted pottery in Europe. Besides a Thessalian

¹⁾ Cf. O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Pl. 19: 12, Pl. 24: 12, 13.

²⁾ Cf. Corrado und Ippolito Capici, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (edited by M. Ebert), XII, art. Stentinello-Kultur.

³⁾ Cf. for instance G. Despott, *Excavations at Ghar Dalam, Malta*, Journal of the R. Anthr. Inst., LIII, (1923), Pl. II: 2.

group, we have an Eastern one,¹⁾ extending from Czernavoda in Dobruja to Craiova in Wallachia and through Eastern Bulgaria to Eastern Macedonia; and, further, a Transylvanian group. A large and important area stretches from the Dnjeper, through Podolia and Bessarabia to Galicia and Bukowina, following the fertile Black Sea soil. The archaeologically most important places are situated in



Fig. 17. Painted urn from the dwelling-site at Schipenitz, Bukowina. From V. Gordon Childe, *Schipenitz: A Late Neolithic Station with Painted Pottery in Bukowina*, fig. 10 in *Journal of the R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LIII (1923), p. 263 sqs. — $\frac{1}{8}$.



Fig. 19. Fragment of painted urn. Honan, China. From J. G. Andersson, *An Early Chinese Culture*, pl. XIII: 8 in *Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China*, n:r 5, (1923). — $\frac{1}{3}$.

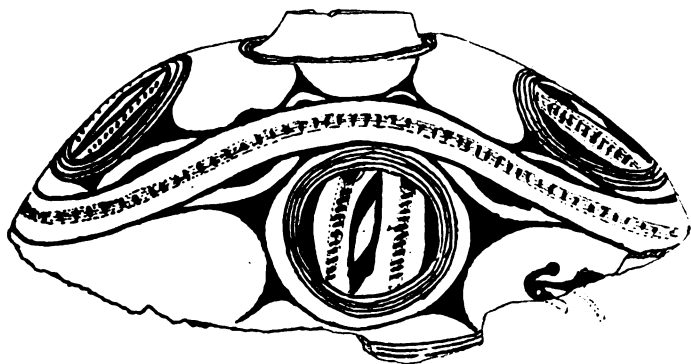


Fig. 18. Fragment of painted urn from the dwelling-site at Schipenitz, Bukowina. From V. Gordon Childe, *Schipenitz: A Late Neolithic Station with Painted Pottery in Bukowina*, fig. 9 in *Journal of the R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LIII (1923), p. 263 sqs. — $\frac{1}{7}$.

the north of the South Russian steppe, which skirts the Black Sea and stretches to the south of the forest tracts of Volhynia and North Galicia. There are three

¹⁾ Cf. Ebert, *Reallexikon*, II, Taf. 112: e.

distinct groups, an eastern one, i. e. the Tripolje pottery, a central one chiefly represented by the Cucuteni pottery, and a north-western one.

Professor Bogajevsky will treat of the Tripolje culture in a special section. Examples of pottery belonging to the central group are illustrated in two vessels from Schipenitz (Bukowina)¹⁾, fig. 17, one of which has an indented band resembling the Chinese "death-pattern" — cf. Pl. V: 3 — and, further, fig. 18, where we see the cowry symbol, well-known from Tripolje, as well as from Chinese sepulchral pottery (cf. fig. 19).

I should like to emphasize, by a few illustrations, the presence in the Susa pottery (W. Persia) of ornaments of the above-mentioned types, Pl. V: 7, 8, as well as the employment within Anau pottery (Russian Turkestan) of the same kinds of patterns, both for incision and painting, Pl. V: 4, 5, 6. The closest European analogy to the Anau pottery is found in the beautiful red-and-blue incrustated vessels of the Slavonian dwelling-site at Vučedol, fig. 22. The latter, on the other hand, reveal close affinity to lake-dwelling ceramic vessels, such as those from Mondsee (Austria).

Professor J. G. Andersson has already emphasized the similarity of certain traits in Chinese, Anau, and Tripolje ornamentation.²⁾ Finally, the common occurrence of the triangular motive in pre-dynastic Egyptian pottery may here be pointed out. Typical Naqada vessels are reproduced in Pl. VII: 1 and 4.

CONTINUATION OF TRIANGULAR ORNAMENTATION AFTER THE AEOLITHIC PERIOD

In Scandinavia triangular decoration was disused for incision on ceramic products during the Stone Cist period and the Bronze Age. It was frequently applied to bronze objects, however,³⁾ and recurred in the Iron Age. In other countries the



Fig. 20. Painted vessel belonging to the Eastern German-Polish group. Silesia. From M. Zimmer, *Die bemalten Thongefässe Schlesiens*, pl. II: 1. Cf. Ebert, *Reallexikon*, I, art. *Bemalte ostdeutsch-polnische Keramik der frühen Eisenzeit*, pl. 109: b. — ¹/₂.

¹⁾ G. Childe, *Schipenitz: A Late Neolithic Station with Painted Pottery in Bukowina*. *Journal of the R. Anthr. Inst.*, LIII, (1923).

²⁾ *An Early Chinese Culture*, *Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China*, (1923), Pl. XIII.

³⁾ Cf. O. Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 811, 812, 815, 822 etc.

triangle remained in use for pottery as well after the Neolithic and Aeneolithic periods. A remarkable fact is its obvious revival in the Hallstattian epoch. A few vessels are reproduced here by way of example. Fig. 20 represents a vessel of the East German-Polish group. It is strikingly like the one in Pl. VI: 6. In Pl. IX: 1 we see a splendid German vessel of Hallstatt type, and in fig. 21, the interesting "frog



Fig. 21. Toad-design vessel for mortuary use. Halle-Trotha. From Fr. Holter, *Ein Krötengefäß aus einem früheisenzeitlichen Gräberfeld von Halle-Trotha*, fig. 1, 2 in Mannus, VI, (1928). VI, Ergänzungsband, p. 121 sqs. — $\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{2}{2}$.

vessel" from Halle-Trotha (Sachsen, Prus.). Pl. VII: 9 represents an extremely beautiful La Tène vessel. In Greek geometrical style the triangle recurs over and over again.

SEPULCHRAL AND DWELLING-SITE POTTERY.

As, however, it is not my intention to show here in detail how far triangular ornamentation survived I shall now proceed to discuss the types of vessels to which it was applied.

The reason why Professor Andersson called his Chinese ornament, fig. 1, the "death-pattern" was its occurrence on sepulchral vessels only. The fact is that Professor Andersson¹⁾ is in the fortunate position of being acquainted with Chinese sepulchral and dwelling-site pottery that are connected with one another both in regard to time and place. The material is identical, while the decoration is different in sepulchral vessels and dwelling-site articles. Sepulchral pottery is characterized by triangular, checker-board, cowry, and "gourd" ornamental devices. Sherds with these motives have been discovered on dwelling-sites only very sparsely in comparison with finds of ordinary dwelling-site pottery vessels. The only possible explanation of their presence on the sites must be based on the assumption that sepulchral vessels were manufactured there. The above-men-

¹⁾ Cf. the preceeding article.

tioned finds of vessels afford very material proof as to contemporaneity and cultural community. Quite naturally the question arises, whether this is the case elsewhere too. The problem is unfortunately not so easily solved in most other places as it is in China. It is true that we know of Scandinavian Neolithic sepulchral ceramics with triangle ornamentation, as well as of evidently contemporaneous dwelling-site pottery lacking this decoration, or at least its purer forms. Far from considering these two types of products as in any way connected, we have always regarded them as representing two peoples, perhaps not altogether different but at least revealing quite different standards of civilization, viz. an agricultural people of a higher standard constructing Megalithic graves and having reached perfection in the manufacture of ceramics, and secondly a primitive hunting people producing rude pottery vessels. If this classification is correct, we should consequently know of the burial places containing that kind of pottery belonging to the agricultural people, but not at all of their dwelling-sites and their kind of pottery. We should also be acquainted with the dwelling-sites of the hunting people with its characteristic pottery, but not with their burial places and of course not with their sepulchral pottery. It is a fact, however, that, in certain cases, remains of Megalithic ceramics have also been excavated at dwelling-sites, although only sparsely in comparison with other kinds of sherds. At the river Örum (Jutland) for instance, 800 out of 1,000 pot-sherds found proved to be not decorated¹⁾, and most of the remainder had simple impressed ornaments. A pot-fragment from the Signalbacke in Aalborg (Jutland), Pl. IX: 2, is without doubt of Megalithic ware. Half of the 125 pot-sherds found are, however, unornamented. The patterns chiefly employed are the cardium ornament, linear designs, and oval, round, or angular indentations.²⁾ In the dwelling-site find at the river Leire (Jutland) more than 600 fragments of earthenware were discovered, of which only 30 were decorated, as a rule with simple ornaments.³⁾ The dwelling-site at Börte fishing village (Skåne) yielded about 500 fragments⁴⁾ of the ordinary type of dwelling-site pottery, as well as 8 or 10 pieces of Megalithic type belonging to 5 or 7 different vessels. On the other hand, one fragment of dwelling-site ware was found among heaps of Megalithic sherds in the so-called Kungsdösen, a long-barrow situated near the dwelling-site Östratorp (Skåne)⁵⁾ This was also the case with another long-barrow in the neighbourhood, "Erkedösen" in Västra Torp (Skåne). Professor O. Rydbeck⁶⁾ when mentioning these facts concerning Skåne as well as corresponding

¹⁾ A. P. Madsen, S. Müller, C. Nergaard, etc., *Affaldsdynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark*, København, (1900), p. 143.

²⁾ See the above foot-note, p. 156.

³⁾ See the above foot-note, p. 170.

⁴⁾ Folke Hansen, *Bidrag till kännedom om äldre megalitkeramiken i Skåne och Danmark*, Lund, (1918), p. 54, etc.

⁵⁾ F. Hansen, foot-note above, p. 37 and Pl. IX: 1.

⁶⁾ O. Rydbeck, *Skåne under förhistorisk tid*, Svenska Turistförs årsskrift, (1919), p. 2 sqs.

facts relating to Denmark, expresses it as his opinion that the contrasts between the two types of culture (dwelling-site and Megalithic) must at that time have been less pronounced than they were formerly believed to be. Dr. Hansen's earlier observations in this respect are said to have been verified by his later finds. The fact is, however, that sherds of simple vessels in large Megalithic burial-grounds may easily have escaped attention if found in earlier excavations. This will have



Fig. 22. Vessel from the dwelling-site at Vučedol near Vukovar, Syrmia, Slavonia. From Ebert, *Reallexikon*, XIII, 4, 5, art. Szarvas, pl. 51 A, fig. c. — $\frac{3}{4}$.

been especially likely if, as in this case, the material used for both simple and finely decorated vessels is the same. Unornamented sherds will escape notice if they are not large enough, or do not so obviously represent the upper parts of a vessel as to render the lack of ornaments remarkable. A glance at the ceramic remains of the Fjärrestad long-barrow in Skåne, for instance (the Historical Museum, Stockholm number 13305) will reveal some fragments with simple indentations resembling those of Pl. VIII: 4, 5. The same grave yielded splendid barrow pottery, examples of which are found in Pl. II: 2, 3. In Pl. VIII: 4, 5, we see two out of the 13 fragments with indentations found in a long-barrow, Örum n:r 5 (Skåne). Pieces of vessels with the triangle pattern from the same grave are reproduced in Pl. VIII: 6 and 7. The material of the fragments with indentations and of those without, is the same. In this connexion, I should like to underline the fact that Megalithic sepulchral vessels from Halland and Bohuslän (Sweden) were often made of a rougher kind of material than the Danish and Scanian ones, even when the patterns used for decoration were the same. It would prove to be of immense value if all the ceramic material of the Historical Museum of Stockholm were published. Such a publication would

furnish students of the subject with quite fresh opportunities for making comparative investigations.

In Uppland, Västmanland and Södermanland (Sweden) where earlier only dwelling-site pottery of the common type was known, we have now found a couple of individual tombs containing vessels of the type that is characteristic of those individual graves in which boat-shaped axes have been found (Swedish:

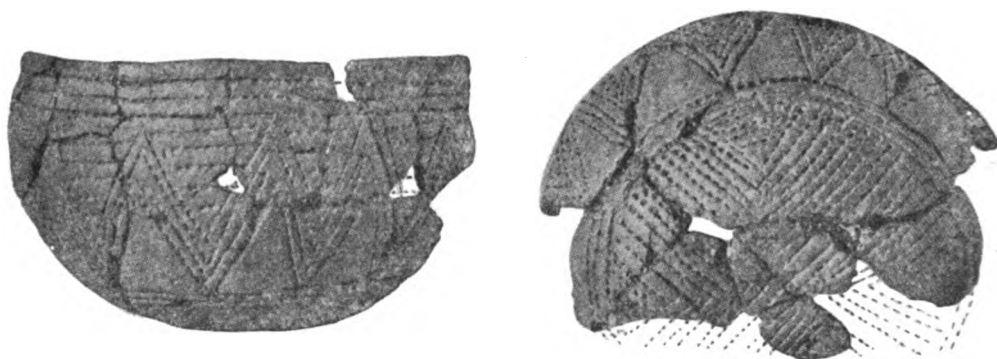


Fig. 23. Mortuary vessel, viewed from the side and from below. Lilla Ramsjö, parish of Vittinge, Västmanland, Sweden. From I. Schnell, *Några stendödersgravar från Västmanlands län* in *Västmanlands Fornminnesförenings Årsskrift XVII* (1928), p. 34 sqs. — 1/3.

"båtyx-gravar"), fig. 23. We have, further, finds of individual tombs at Öja in Södermanland (Sweden) a district that has yielded a number of dwelling-sites in recent years. The pottery from these graves is different from Megalithic pottery, it is true, but the point with which we are now concerned is only whether we can classify these large angular ornaments as triangle patterns. I do not propose to dwell further upon the question. By my comparison, p. 5, I have simply shown the possibility of such a procedure. The "boat-axe" graves have always been regarded as representing a special type of civilization, and I do not deny that this may be the case, but merely state the circumstance of our having obtained sepulchral finds with a kind of angular decoration from a neighbouring place which had previously yielded numerous specimens of dwelling-site pottery. By way of example I reproduce a vessel, fig. 24, from an individual tomb in the parish of Gällaryd, Småland (Sweden). The shape of the vessel is typical, while the decoration is not the usual one associated with individual tombs, but seems rather to have been influenced by Megalithic ceramics. A degenerate form of ornamentation such as that in Pl. III: 1 may be considered to be of the same type.

Mr. Rydbeck's theory may prove to be correct. The great contrasts formerly assumed to exist between dwelling-site culture and Megalithic culture may prove to be non-existent. For the present I do not propose to discuss that question, but will merely express it as my conclusion from what has been stated above, that in Scandinavia as in China there was probably one ordinary type of pottery for

everyday use, and another special sepulchral type. Occasionally, of course, here as in China, a sepulchral vessel may have been broken on the dwelling-site where it was manufactured, or a household vessel may have been used for a sepulchral urn.

The pottery of Northern Germany offers analogous conditions. It must, however, be stated that the majority of pottery found there is of the sepulchral



Fig. 24. Mortuary vessel. Os, parish of Gällaryd, Småland, Sweden. From *Fornvännen*. XIX (1924), Tillväxten, fig. 1. — 1/3.

type. Nevertheless among the few fragments from the dwelling-site of Schmöckwitz in Brandenburg — most of which recall Scandinavian dwelling-site vessels — there were also found some sherds of Megalithic type, fig. 7.

Most of the pottery discovered in the lake-dwellings of South Germany and Switzerland consists of large unornamented vessels. In the Schussenried culture, vessels with zig-zag and triangular decoration appear among these unornamented ones, and we may infer that the exclusive use of the latter for household purposes is not a matter of definite fact. Nor indeed does anything go to prove that they were employed for special rites, but there is nothing unreasonable in the assumption that the ornamented vessels were employed for one purpose, and the unornamented for another. After having made these remarks, I should also like to point out the possibility that a certain symbolical ornament may have been connected with the cult of the dead in one particular area only, and not elsewhere.

SYMBOLIC ORNAMENTAL MOTIVES AND CULT OF THE DEAD

On proceeding to the following account we should distinctly bear in mind the fact that in Kansu (China) triangular, checker-board, and cowry patterns are solely confined to sepulchral pottery. It may be added that, within the Northern civilization, we are acquainted with triangular and checker-board patterns in sepulchral, but not in dwelling-site, pottery. We may simply infer that a manufacture

of special sepulchral vessels — which is proved beyond dispute as far as China is concerned — must have implied that this pottery had a special signification and its decoration must then have been symbolical.

The prehistoric existence of a cult of the dead of a far more widespread character than was imagined within recent years is more and more looked upon as an established fact. Egyptian sepulchral paintings with explanatory inscriptions were the primary cause of the adoption of this opinion. Scandinavia joined in the discussion on this problem indirectly on account of the fact that its rock-carvings required an interpretation. Among other works, Professor O. Almgren's magnificent publication *Hällristningar och kultbruk (Gravures sur rochers et rites magiques)* (1926—27)¹⁾ gives evident proof that magic rites practised for the benefit of the living people must have been the primary ones, and influenced the cult of the dead. The principal aim of this cult, in Scandinavia as well as in Egypt, was regeneration, and it was consequently practised by means of the same rites as those that in life served to increase vitality and produce fertility. This fact has already been emphasized in connection with carvings on certain tomb slabs, especially the Kivik tomb, by other men of science, such as Schneider and Nordén.²⁾ The question has also been discussed as to whether sepulchral finds may not in certain cases have had a similar signification. I refer to Mr. Jungner's treatise on Swedish La Tène graves containing sickles, which he regards as connected with the Frigga cult.³⁾ Professor Almgren raises the point whether axe-shaped amber beads were not "intended to increase women's fecundity" and also whether "their frequency as sepulchral objects must not have had a special purpose of promoting life".⁴⁾ Already before having seen Professor Almgren's hypothesis in print, I had on my own account expressed the same idea in a lecture. I am, however, rather inclined to an interpretation differing from Professor Almgren's, concerning the origin of the magic force of the axe, and I shall recur to this later on, (p. 99 etc.).

Without in any way agreeing with most of the fantastic ideas propounded by H. Wirth in his recently published part I of *Der Aufgang der Menschheit* (1928), p. 352, I should like to mention his opinion, that sepulchral objects, and especially the pottery, were given as "a prayer for regeneration". I should like to endorse this statement of his, to which I shall return later on. I cannot however agree with the line of argument by which he has reached his conclusions. Other investigators appear to regard these maybe magic sepulchral objects as aiming rather at material riches or "luck".⁵⁾ There are still, however, students of the subject who will not admit of any prehistoric images' being interpreted as magical, and who

¹⁾ With a French resumé.

²⁾ *Kiviksgraven*, Serien Svenska Fornminnesplatser, I (1926), p. 64.

³⁾ H. Jungner, *Gudinnan Frigg och Als härad* (1922), p. 43, 80, 152, etc.

⁴⁾ *Hällristningar och kultbruk*, p. 283.

⁵⁾ Cf. H. Jungner, *Gudinnan Frigg och Als härad* (1922), p. 173.

embrace the theory of art for art's sake. They are still less inclined to allow to geometrical motives proper any but ornamental functions. There are others, on the other hand, who do not hesitate to regard certain ornaments as symbolical, and the tendency to interpret certain motives, at least, as being symbolical appears to be steadily, if slowly, gaining ground. Certain motives applied to pottery, such as the Swastika, the conventionalized tree and the conventionalized sun-disc, have

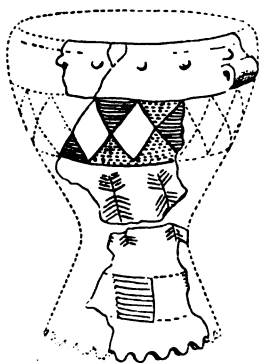


Fig. 25. Ritual clay-drum found in a tomb at Nietleben, Saalkreis, Germany. From N. Niklasson, *Studien über die Walternienburg-Bernburger Kultur*, I, fig. 81: a, p. 83. — ¹/₅.

long been generally considered as implying some symbolic purpose, and some scientists have even expressed a similar view as regards the checker-board motive, as does for instance Mr. V. Macchioro, in his essay *Das Schachbrettmuster in der mittelländischen Kultur*,¹⁾ and also Mr. W. Gärtner in *Die symbolische Verwendung des Schachbrettmusters im Altertum*.²⁾ Mr. N. Niklasson doubts the existence of any symbolism in this motive,³⁾ but does not deny the possibility of symbolism in other ceramic motives. To this class he assigns the "comb-motive", the "circle" or "wheel", the "cross", the "pine-twist", the "double or treble concentric semi-circle" and the "hour-glass".

Some of these patterns have been considered magical by others as well. I shall treat further of the comb, hour-glass, and tree motives below (p. 105, 99, 102, 103).

The application of triangular ornamentation to an entire surface, for instance on the famous tomb slabs of Merseburg (Germany), Pl. VIII: 1, 2, 3, is in my opinion a proof of its symbolism as well as of its connection with the cult of the dead. The triangular ornamentation should be noticed in certain Thuringian, more or less bi-conical, earthenware objects, fig. 25, which have been regarded

¹⁾ *Mannus*, IV (1912).

²⁾ *Mannus*, VI (1914).

³⁾ *Studien über die Walternienburg-Bernburger Kultur*, I, Jahresschrift für die Vorgeschichte der Sächsisch-Thüringischen Länder, XIII (1925), p. 131, Foot-note 1.

by Mr. Niklasson¹) as ritual drums. On these occur other ornaments too, denoting, in Mr. Niklasson's opinion, a symbolical use, as for instance the "pine-twig", the "cross", and the "double semi-circle". The drums were discovered in graves. Finally, I find the most fundamental proof of my theory in a number of Iberian idols with abundant triangular ornamentation, fig. 26 and 27. These were also sepulchral finds. Further instances may be cited such as the remarkable

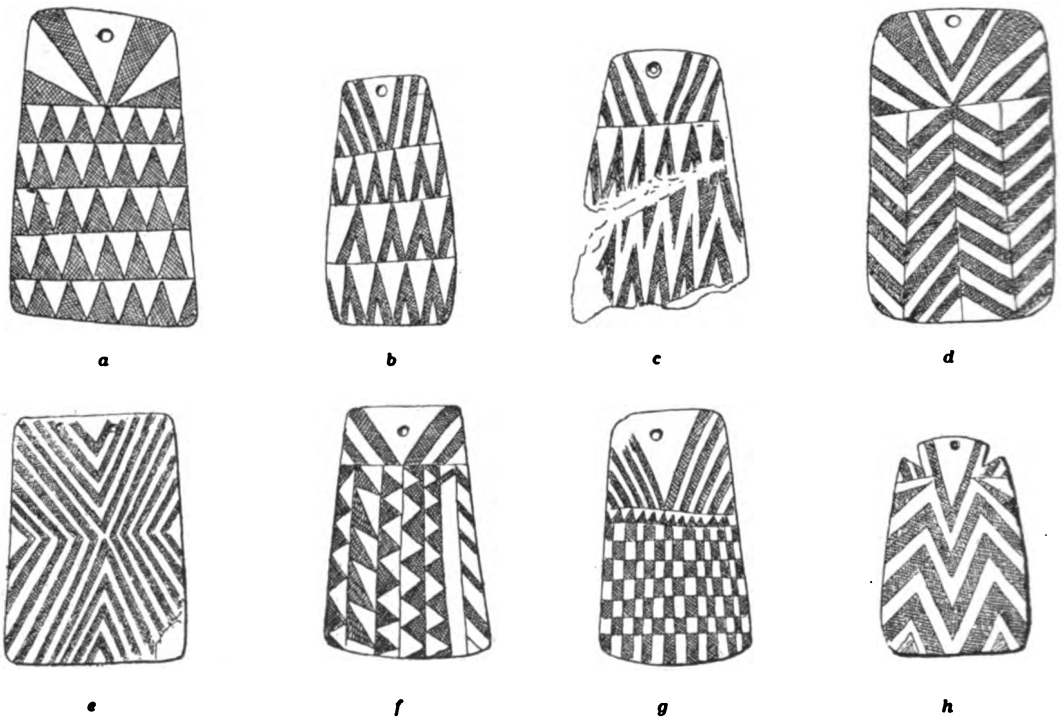


Fig. 26. Engraved slate idols found in tombs in the Iberian Peninsula. From L. Siret, *Questions*, fig. 102: 1, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21 and 8. — Abt. 1/5.

Portuguese sickle-shaped slate object, fig. 28, which is comprehensible only if classified as ritual object (symbolical sickle). The triangular patterns on the idols do not differ very highly from such ceramic designs as those in Pl. IX: 3. There are corresponding instances in respect of other districts. (Fig. 29 represents a Cyprian idol showing close relationship to the Iberian ones.) Certain clay figures found in the large Hal-Tarxien temple in Malta are also idols of a peculiar type. The figures are very thin (cf. Pl. VII: 5, 6, 7, 8), and represent conventional human forms in a sitting posture. Mr. T. Zammit has declared them to be

¹) Cf. the work quoted above, inter alia, Abb. 81:a, 102. Taf. II:a XXXIV; XXXVI: 1, XXXVIII: 1, XL, XLVI, XLVII, and p. 137.

"conventional representations of the generative power of nature".¹⁾ In this connection might be mentioned such columns with triangular ornamentation as are described by H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley. *Ur-Excavations*, I, London (1927), Pl. XXXIV: 3 (my fig. 30). The object reproduced by Gautier et Lampre, *Fouilles de Moussian* in *Délégation en Perse*, vol. VIII, fig. 106, may be an idol.



Fig. 27. Bone idol found in a tomb. Cuevas, Almizaraque, Almería, Spain. From L. Siret, *Religions néolithiques de l'Ibérie*, pl. V: 9 in *la Revue Préhistorique*, 3^e année, n:os 7, 8 (1908), p. 193 sqs. Cf. N. Åberg, *Civ. Enéol.*, fig. 43. — $\frac{1}{2}$.

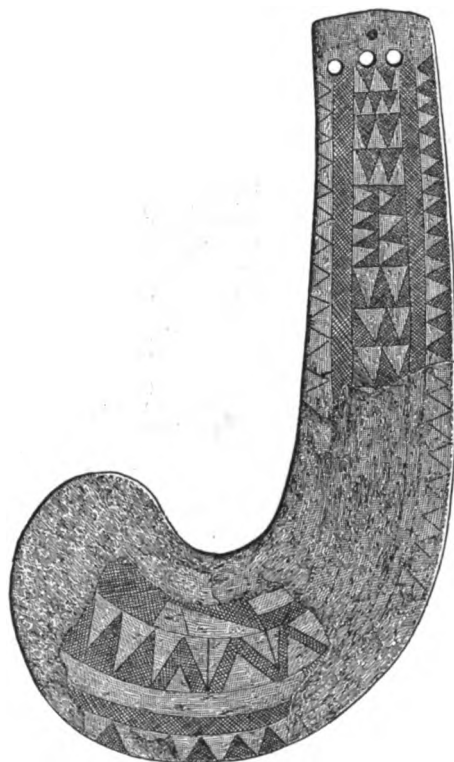


Fig. 28. Sickle-shaped object of slate. Casa di Moura, Portugal. From E. Cartailhac, *Les âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal*, fig. 96. Cf. N. Åberg, *Civ. Enéol.*, fig. 29. — $\frac{1}{4}$.

SIGNIFICATION OF TRIANGULAR AND CONNECTED ORNAMENTATION

All who have investigated the question appear to agree as to classifying the Iberian slate plates described above as a kind of idols. Mr. Åberg²⁾ considers fig. 27 to be a sort of prototype for these highly conventionalized human figures: "un dieu, ou une déesse, l'âme du mort, un esprit protecteur ou quelque autre être qui

¹⁾ *The Hal-Tarzien Neolithic Temple, Malta*. *Archæologia*, 67 (1915), p. 138.

²⁾ *La Civilisation Énéolithique*, p. 46.

se trouvait en rapport avec les vivants sur la terre et les morts dans les grottes et les tombes mégalithiques". He points out their rapid decline and expresses the opinion that the idea originally embodied by them survived as a tradition

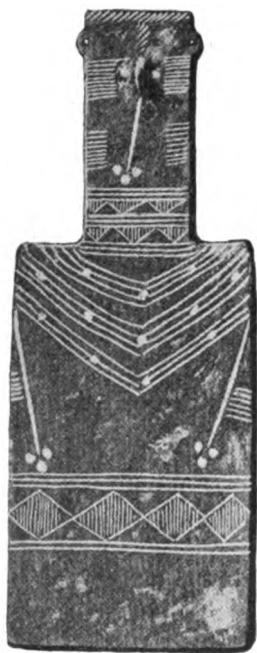


Fig. 29. Slate idol. Cyprus. From R. Dussaud, *Civ. préh.*, fig. 169. Height 0.28 cm.



Fig. 30. A mosaic pillar. Ur, Al-'Ubaid. From H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley *Ur-Excavations*, vol. I, pl. XXXIV: 3. — $\frac{1}{10}$.

only, when the idol had lost all its realism. The author emphasizes the ornamental resemblance between these idols and Iberian as well as Eastern European, German, and Scandinavian Neolithic pottery. Like Cartailhac, he also refers to certain bronze axes with triangular decoration, but he does not enter upon a discussion concerning the possible meaning of the ornament. This question has

been treated by Mr. L. Siret in two publications.¹⁾ The realistic idols of fig. 31—of which fig. a was discovered in Spain — form the basis of Mr. Siret's interpretation of the triangle as a symbol of female fecundity.

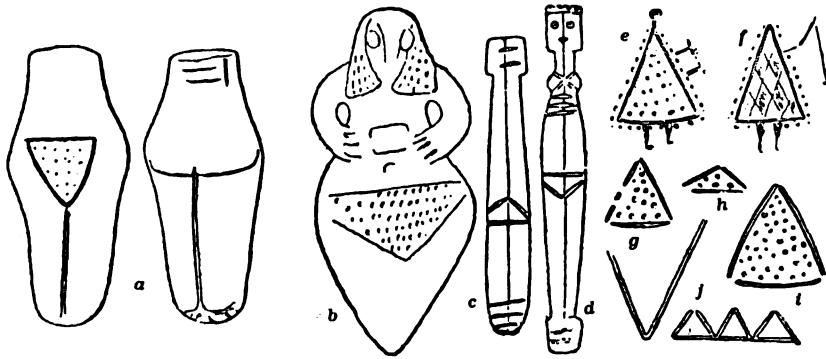


Fig. 31. a, Alabaster statuette, Spain; b, Clay statuette, Egypt; c, d, Bone statuettes, Spain; e, f, Figures engraved upon mortuary vessels, Hungary; g, h, i, Triangles engraved upon mortuary vessels; j, Modern vagabond mark; the three triangles indicated the presence of three women. From *Die Woche*, 12, VII, 1902. Cf. L. Siret, *Questions*, fig. 83.

We will dwell for an instant upon Mr. Siret's hypothesis concerning the meaning of the triangle. First of all, we had then better add to the number of his examples by mentioning several more from various places, fig. 32, 33, 34, 35, Pl. X: 2, 3, 7, 8, 9.



Fig. 32. Clay statuette found in the dwelling-site at Jablanica, Servia. From M. Vassits, *Die neol. Station von Jablanica* in J. Z. K., N. F., III: 1 (1905), p. 30, fig. 79. From M. Hørnes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 291, fig. 1: 2— $\frac{1}{2}$.

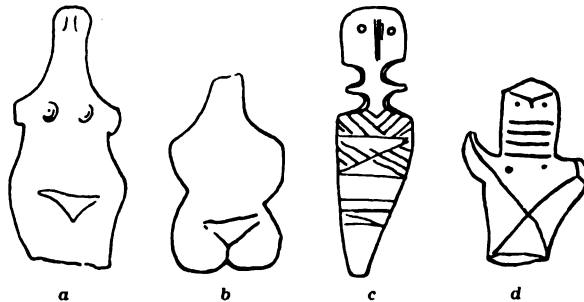


Fig. 33. Human clay figures. a, Tsangli, Thessaly. From Wace-Tompson, *Prehist. Thessaly*, fig. 76: 1; b, Chaisoneia, Thessaly. From Wace-Tompson, *work quoted*, fig. 141; c, Bulgaria. From B. C. H. XXX (1906), fig. 57; d, Troy. From Schliemann, *Ilios* 374, n:r 193. Cf. V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, pl. III, fig. 53, 64, pl. V: 100, pl. VII: 144.

¹⁾ *Religions néolithiques de l'Ibérie*, La revue préhistorique (1908); (will be quoted as *Religions*) and *Questions de Chronologie et d'Ethnographie Ibériques* (1913) (will be quoted as *Questions*).

We should notice above all Pl. X: 1, which represents an idol wearing a girdle on which is visible the triangular symbol. It was evidently fundamental that it should be seen.

I ascribe particular importance to Pl. VII: 3, representing an Egyptian female figure in the form of a clay vessel, which may have had handles in the shape of



Fig. 34. Lead idol. Hissarlik-Troy. From Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 337, n:r 226. Cf. G. Wilke, *Südwesteuropäische Megalithkultur* in Mannus-Bibliothek, n:o 7, fig. 115, p. 124.

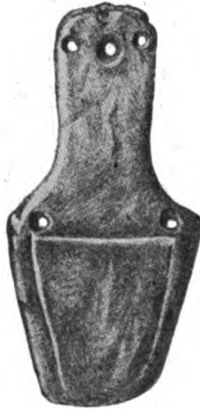


Fig. 35. Amber statuette. Schwarzort, kurische Nehrung, Germany. From R. Klebs, *Der Bernsteinschmuck der Steinzeit*, pl. X: 1. Cf. M. Hørnes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 243, fig. 2. $\frac{1}{2}$.

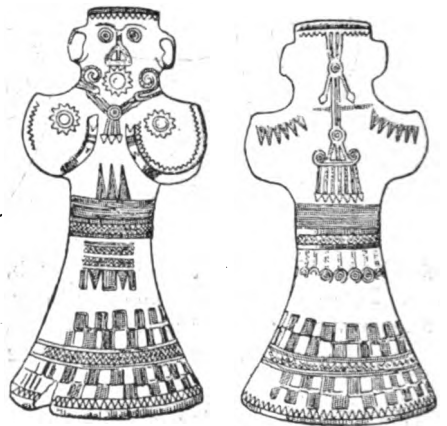


Fig. 36. Clay idol viewed from two sides. Kličevac, Serbia. From M. Valtrović in J. Z. K., N. F., III (1905), p. 31, fig. 85, 86. Cf. M. Hørnes, *Urgeschichte*, fig. 2, p. 409. — $\frac{1}{6}$.

raised arms, as Pl. IX: 5. Cf. Pl. VII: 3 with fig. 37. No less remarkable is fig. 38, showing archaic earthenware vessels from Kish (Iraq) with handles in the shape of idols. (Cf. Pl. VII: 3.) Very material is the occurrence of the triangular symbol as an ornamental band on the vessel 38, a. Fig. 39 also illustrates clearly a similar transformation of the symbol for decorative purposes. On this vessel, fig. 39, which is from the province of Almería (Spain), we see a reproduction of a human figure so conventionalized that we can guess at its character only from the sun-shaped eyes and the triangles. These two motives are almost identical with those of the idol from the same province, represented in fig. 27. In this connexion I should like to point out the great resemblance between the "face vessel" of fig. 39, and the idol, fig. 27, as well as the Northern vessel, Pl. I: 5, out of which the degenerate type, Pl. II: 1, was evolved. (Cf. fig. 3, where we see the handles serving as eyebrows.) Both these vessels and the idols present a seemingly puzzling repetition of triangular figures. Even very naturalistic

images often show a similar repetition. We should like to draw attention to a comparable case of multiplying an analogous symbol viz. the well known images of the Ephesian Diana with not only two, but "a hundred breasts." Fig. 40 compared with fig. 41, will show that the symbol was first rendered in a realistic manner on the Spanish idols. The latter figure is hardly less conventionalized,



Fig. 37. Wooden statuette of a maid-servant, found in a tomb. Egypt. From G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs*, II, *Der Sarg des Sebk-O*, p. 28 (n:r 13743) in *Mittheil. aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, Berlin. Height 11 cm.

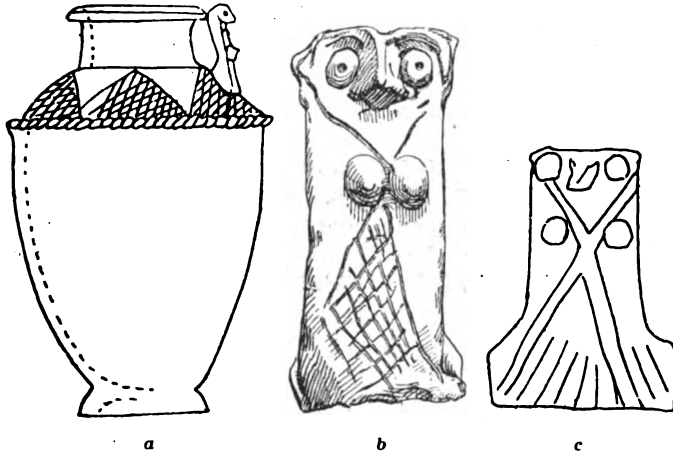


Fig. 38. a, Mortuary vessel with geometric decoration. Kish, Irak. From Mackay, *Excavation of the "A" cemetery*, pl. IX: 12; b, Flat lug of mortuary vessel, decorated with an idol. Kish. From Mackay, *work quoted*, pl. II: 8; c, Flat lug of mortuary vessel decorated with an idol. Kish. From Mackay, *work quoted*, pl. II: 1. Cf. G. Contenau, *Manuel*, fig. 262-264.

and a repetition of the motif has been involved. This repetition may have had an ornamental purpose. It may also, as suggested above, imply greater intensity in the same way as a magic intention was expressed by repeating images of animals on the walls of caves, or sun-boats on our rocks.

The triangle as denoting a symbol of female fecundity is reflected in its Greek denomination, which is \triangle . We know of a very early form of fertility rites in

the lingam and yoni-cult (phallus and vulva cult) in India. Seligmann¹) describes the triangle as a female symbol, and also the origin of the Hindoo cult, quoting an old Hindoo legend about the holy mountain Meru: "Die ältesten und bekann-

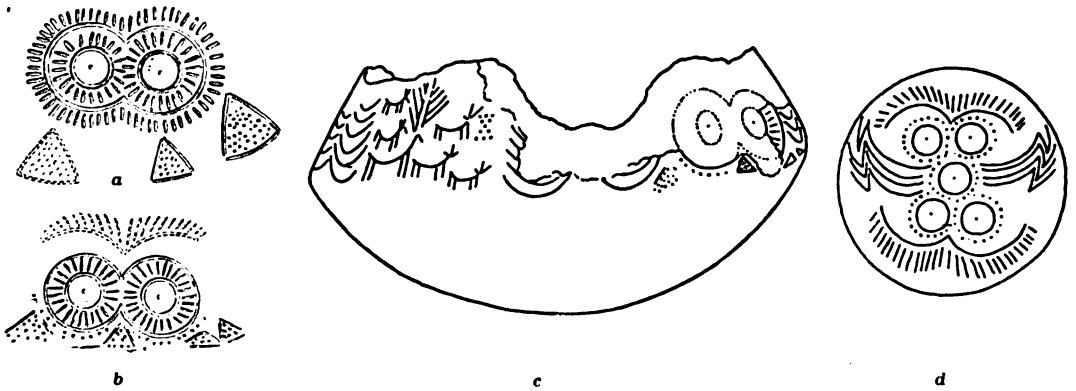


Fig. 39. a, b, Pairs of circles consisting of radiating lines together with triangles from mortuary vessels. Los Millares, Gádor, Spain. From L. Siret, *Religions néolithiques de l'Ibérie*, pl. XIV: 2, 3, in *la Revue Préhist.*, 3^e année, n:os 7 et 8 (1908), p. 193 sqs; c, Clay vessel. Los Mellares, Spain. — ¹/₅; d, Design on a clay-vessel. Los Millares. Spain. — ¹/₅; c and d from L. Siret, *L'Espagne préhistorique*, fig. 222 and 224, in *la Revue des questions scientifiques*, Bruxelles (1893).

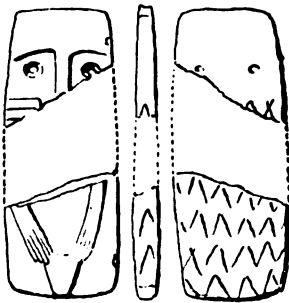


Fig. 40. Engraved slate idol from a tomb. Iberian Peninsula. From L. Siret, *Questions*, fig. 103: 9. — C:a ¹/₅.

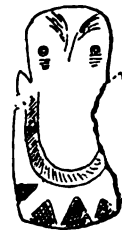


Fig. 41. Engraved slate idol from tomb. Iberian Peninsula. From L. Siret, *Questions*, fig. 103, 11. — C:a ¹/₅.

ten Anfänge des Phallusdienstes finden wir in Indien auf dem heiligen Berge Meru. Hier steht nach der altindischen Sage auf einem silbernen Tische eine silberne Glocke und eine Lotusblume, weiss und zart wie Perlen, Brigosiri und Tavesiri, Mund- und Zungenjungfrau, welche die Götter unausgesetzt loben. Mitten in der Lotusblume ist eine Dreieck, das Symbol des weiblichen Geschlechtsteils, von den Indiern "Yoni" genannt, und aus dem Triangel ragt das männliche Glied,

¹) *Der böse Blick*, II, Berlin (1910).

der "Lingam" bei den Indiern, kegelförmig hervor. Dieser Lingam hatte drei Rinden, die äusserste war der Gott Brahma, die mittlere Vischnu, die dritte und weichste Schiwa, und nachdem die drei Götter sich davon gelöst hatten, blieb der Stamm im Dreieck allein noch übrig und Schiwa übernahm seine Obhut."

Analogies with the above may be drawn in mentioning that the Babylonian fertility goddess Tanit was represented as a triangle with a head and hands raised in gesture of worship, fig. 42, a,¹⁾ and female figures as triangles with a head and legs, fig. 31, e, f. According to Tacitus, Aphrodite was worshipped in the shape of a pyramidal stone in Paphos, her favourite haunt containing the great temple.²⁾ Such stones are to be seen on coins from that Cyprian town, as well as from Byblos, Sidon, and other places of the Near East. Fig. 42, b represents such a stone erected on a sacrificial altar. It bears a striking resemblance to certain altars of Egyptian sepulchral paintings. The scene of fig. 43 shows an important ceremony in the Egyptian cult of the dead, viz. "the opening of the mouth of the mummy". We can hardly help comparing the two last-mentioned figures with the Kivik stone of fig. 44. (Cf. Nordén, *Kiviksgraven*, p. 25, foot-note 19.) I should also like to mention that Goblet d'Alviella sees a connexion between "the sacred cones" and crux ansata, the "anch" of the Egyptians, the key of life.³⁾

Finally, a fact mentioned by Mr. Siret⁴⁾ throws further light upon the matter. He tells us that modern tramps draw a triangle as denoting a woman. Cf. fig. 31: j.

Mr. K. v. d. Steinen has furnished us with an expressive item with regard to the women of the Kulisehn Indians. Their only clothing consists of a diminutive triangular "ulari" (reproduced in his fig. 18). When v. d. Steinen drew a triangle with a pencil, the men at once exclaimed "ulari", and an ornament as represented in my fig. 45 was also directly taken by the Bakairi Indians as signifying the "ulari".⁵⁾ A triangular pattern for basketwork used in West Africa is called the "bulunga" (women's girdle) ornament.⁶⁾

"L'idole d'Almizaraque (my fig. 31, a) ne nous permet de nous méprendre sur la signification du triangle simple, rempli de points", says Mr. Siret.⁷⁾ "Les deux triangles réunis par leurs sommets ne peuvent que représenter une idée dualistique du même ordre, c'est-à-dire l'union des sexes. C'est, en un mot, le symbol de la génération." The Pelargians (Pelasgians) were said also to worship the principle of both male and female fecundity united in the symbol of two equilateral

¹⁾ Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 231.

²⁾ Goblet d'Alviella, *The migration of symbols*, London (1894), p. 184. In *Nature Worship* (By the author of *Phallism*), London (1891), the principle of female fecundity is also regarded as symbolized, among other things, by the pyramidal form, p. 82.

³⁾ The work quoted above, p. 186, etc.

⁴⁾ *Questions*, p. 249.

⁵⁾ *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin (1894), p. 265.

⁶⁾ H. Th. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, II, Berlin (1929), p. 81: 1.

⁷⁾ *Religions*, p. 220.



a



b

Fig. 42. a, The sign denoting the Babylonian goddess Tanit. From *Corpus inscr. semitic.*, vol. IV (1889), tab. iiii, fig. 138; b, Sacred stone of Byblos on a coin from the same locality. From *Corpus inscr. semitic.*, vol. I, fasc. I, pl. VI. Cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *The migration of symbols*, fig. 103.

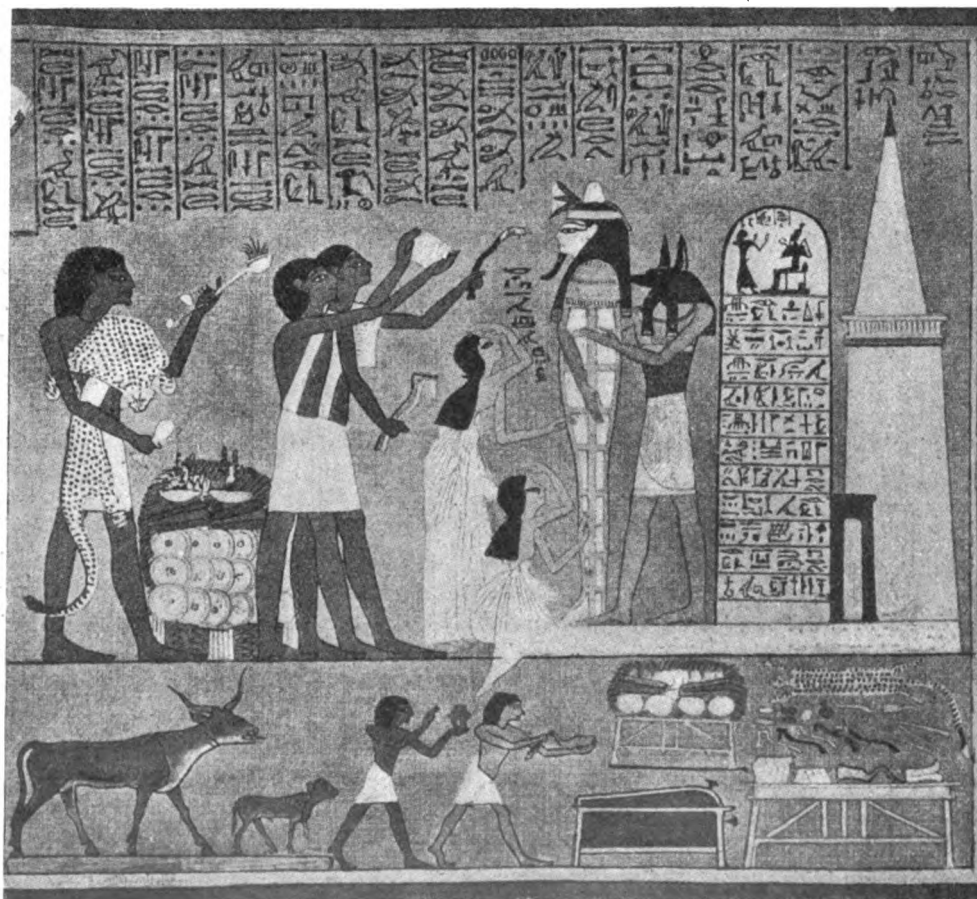


Fig. 43. The ceremony of "opening the mouth" being performed on the mummy of the Royal Scribe Hunefer at the door of the tomb. From E. A. Wallis Budge, *The book of the dead*, p. 11.

triangles.¹⁾ On mentioning this double triangle we have come to a composition of the triangular motive that has progressed to form a separate ornament, by some investigators called the hour-glass motive. It is easy to observe how very easily such a symmetrization may arise. This is illustrated by Mr. Siret in a figure, reproduced in my fig. 46. I do not propose to dwell any further upon Mr. Siret's dualistic idea. I should like, however, to point out the fact of Mr.

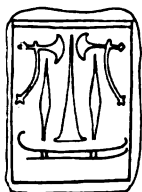


Fig. 44. Reconstruction of one of the stone slabs of the Kivik tomb. Skåne, Sweden. From A. Nordén, *Kiviksgraven*, fig. 21, p. 33 in *Serien Svenska Fornminnesplatser* n:o 1.



Fig. 45. Wooden cylinder with "ulari"-design worn as a personal ornament. Bakairi, Central Brazil. From K. v. d. Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, fig. 48:2. — $\frac{1}{4}$.

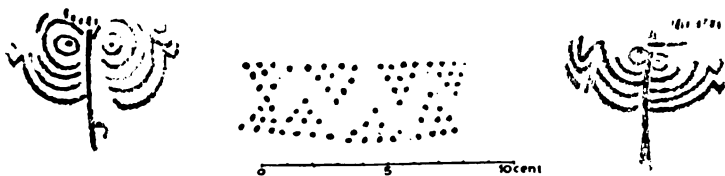


Fig. 46. Design painted in red upon a mortuary vessel. Los Millares, Gádor, Almería, Spain, tomb n:o 21. From L. Siret, *Religions*, fig. 12 in *La Revue Préhistorique*, 3e année, nos 7 et 8 (1908), p. 193 sqs.

Conteneau's embracing a similar theory with regard to his Cappadocian idols with two heads (Pl. X: 8.) I quote the following: "Nous savons le rôle qu'y (= l'Asie Mineure) jouait le 'couple divin', le Grand Dieu et la Grande Déesse, sans l'union desquels il ne pouvait y avoir vie et reproduction sur la terre. Pour la seconde moitié du deuxième millénaire, nous en avons un témoignage dans le mariage mystique du Grand Dieu et de la Grande Déesse sur les rochers de Iasili-Kaia. Quand l'idole est à une tête, elle représente d'ordinaire la déesse; quand

¹⁾ *Nature Worship*, p. 85.

elle est à deux têtes, sans doute le dieu et la déesse; dans ce dernier cas, l'attribut de la déesse est cependant prépondérant."¹⁾)

This double triangular motive is of frequent occurrence. Sometimes it forms part of an ornamental band as in Pl. IX: 6, and then it has not so obvious an effect. Sometimes it is used in a more conspicuous way, as in fig. 39, c, where its being placed in front of the animal figures is a device altogether uncalled for —

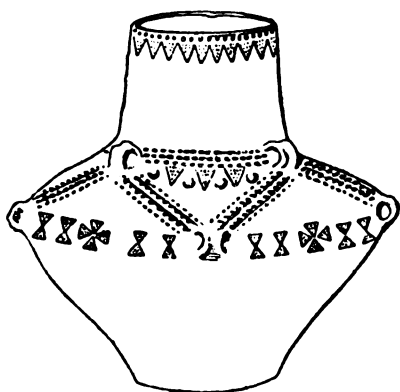


Fig. 47. Clay vessel. Kosteletz, Bohemia. From J. L. Píř, *Čechy předhistorické* I, pl. XXXVIII: 3. Cf. M. Hørnes, *Urgesch.*, p. 321, fig. 5. — ¹/₆.



Fig. 48. Minoan vessel with design of a double-axe. Hagia Triada. From R. Dussaud, *Civ. Préh.*, fig. 150.



Fig. 49. Double-axe design on an amphora from Curium, Cyprus. From R. Dussaud, *Civ. Préh.*, fig. 114.

from an ornamental point of view. Fig. 47, representing a vessel from Kosteletz (Bohemia), is of no slight interest in this connexion. There we see partly single triangles, partly double triangular ornaments, and partly a motive composed of triangles in the form of a cross. A corresponding fourfold application of the ornament is realistically used on the interesting vessel, Pl. IX: 5, from Troy. The vessel itself is in the shape of a conventionalized human figure, and its handles in the shape of arms raised in a gesture of adoration. There will seem to be a certain connexion between this cruciform triangular motive, fig. 47, Pl. IX: 5, and the swastika of Pl. IX: 9, also from Troy. We should also notice the ornament of Pl. VIII: 10 from the same site.

¹⁾ *Idoles en Pierre*, etc., Syria (1927), p. 199.

It has been shown by Mr. Siret¹⁾ that the double triangular motive fig. 46, 47, Pl. IX: 6, bears a striking resemblance with the double-edged axe. We need not recall the ritual symbolism of the double-edged axe. Reference to the Cretan area, for instance, will suffice.²⁾ It is Mr. Siret's opinion that this similarity should have conferred the signification of fertility upon the two-edged axe, and then upon the axe in general. We may notice as a fact of a certain importance that realistic

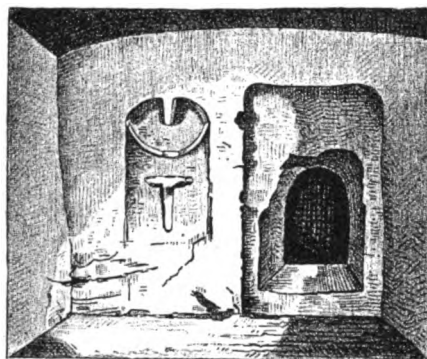


Fig. 50. Human figure with double-axe on the wall of a tomb chamber at Courjeonnet (Marne), France. From E. Cartailhac, *La France préhistorique*, p. 241—243. Cf. M. Hoernes, *Urgesch.*, p. 217, fig. 3.

images of axes occur on earthenware vessels too. A Cretan vessel is reproduced in fig. 48, and a Cyprian one in fig. 49. The latter should be compared with fig. 39, c. In connexion with the last-mentioned hypothesis of Mr. Siret's, Mr. Wilke³⁾ has made a comparison — a very obvious one — with the realistic figure of an axe on the well-known sculpture in one of the crypts at Courjeonnet (Marne), fig. 50. There are, further, a number of similar human figures with axes (and also three-sided daggers), which are generally looked upon as a kind of idols. Mr. Wilke believes them to be female, while others consider those with weapons to be males.⁴⁾ The identical placing of the axe and the triangle on the idols of fig. 32—35, Pl. X: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, is a point in favour of the above theory of interpretation. Mr. Wilke severely criticizes Mr. Siret's hypothesis concerning the origin of the axe as a symbol of fertility. However, he himself is convinced that it had such a significance, but he prefers to believe that it may be traced back to women's use of the axe as their chief agricultural implement. This interpretation seems to me rather less convincing. However that may be, as regards both the primary origin of the ornamental motive and the manner in which the axe became

¹⁾ *Religions*, p. 221.

²⁾ A. Evans, *The Palace of King Minos*.

³⁾ *Südwesteuropäische Megalithkultur*, Mannus Bibliothek 7, p. 122.

⁴⁾ In the same way Mr. Siret, *Questions*, p. 297, says that the male figures are characterized by dagger or sword.

a symbol of fertility,¹⁾ two facts remain. Firstly, that it had a symbolical significance can hardly be disputed. Secondly, a connexion between the ornament and the axe as a symbol seems very likely, as shown especially by the dolmen idols. A ritual significance of the axe is generally taken for granted, whether it is called the emblem of the Sun-god, or is held to be a symbol of fertility. This really comes to the same thing. The ritual meaning may be regarded as definitely proved by means of axe-shaped amber beads, mentioned above on p. 86, and by the occurrence of axe-shaped objects, whose unfitness for practical use as weapons is manifest.²⁾ An employment of the axe in fertility and bridal ceremonies is already reflected in the saga poetry. The hammer or axe was the emblem of Thor,³⁾ and he became the god of wedding ceremonials, to whom the people drank in preference to the other gods on such festive occasions.⁴⁾ We may note Trym's command at his wedding with Thor, disguised as Frōja, as rendered in the "Trymskvāde":

"In bāren hammaren
brud att viga
lāggen Mjöllne
i möns knā."

(Bring in the hammer to wed the bride; place Mjöllne on the bride's lap.)

"Thor's hammers" in graves of the Viking period (800—1050) could also form an analogy and be explained in this way. The axe also has a similar meaning in later popular customs. Mr. Wilke⁵⁾ tells us that the Hindoos use a stone axe in fertility magic to this very day, and also that the Esthonians put a stone axe under the bed in order to get strong and healthy children.

The use of the stone axe as an amulet, both in Europe and Asia, and as a fetich on the coast of Guinea is testified to by Mr. Andree.⁶⁾

After this digression I now revert to Pl. IX: 5, comparing it with Pl. VIII: 10 and fig. 51, a. The former represents a fragment of an earthenware idol from Troy, the latter a somewhat similar idol from Cucuteni. If we compare these further with the Chinese vessel of Pl. XI: 1, we see the derivation of the lattice pattern, which (cf. fig. 51, a) is the checker-board pattern. How easily a combination of two or even four triangles could change into a lattice pattern if the dividing lines between the triangles disappear is clear from the motifs of Pl. IX: 6 and 8, fig. 59. Mr. Siret also explains the checker-board pattern as a series of

¹⁾ It is interesting to note how certain miniature axes (for ritual use) have triangular ornamentation; this is the case with a Spanish one reproduced by M. Siret. Cf. *Religions*, Pl. XI: 1.

²⁾ Thus, for instance, J. Lechler, *Die reich verzierten Steinäxte des sachsichen Typus*, Mannus Bibl. 22. Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 678, 817, 883 etc.

³⁾ Thor's thunder-bolt represents another form of fertilizing power, thunder as producing rain.

⁴⁾ Cf. O. Montelius, *Solgudens yxa och Tors hammare*, S. F. T., X, p. 289.

⁵⁾ *Südwesteuropäische Megalithkultur*, Mannus-Bibl., VII, p. 123.

⁶⁾ *Parallelen und Vergleiche*, N. F., Stuttgart, (1878), p. 31.

double triangles.¹⁾ The characteristic point in the middle soon disappears, Pl. V:3. Pl. XI:3 shows a developed Chinese checker-board pattern identically placed with the more realistic one in Pl. XI:1. The identification of the triangular pattern with the lattice, and later with the regular checker-board pattern, is further proved through its realistic application in the Servian idol of Pl. X:6. In a more conventionalized form it is used for the quaint British drum, repre-

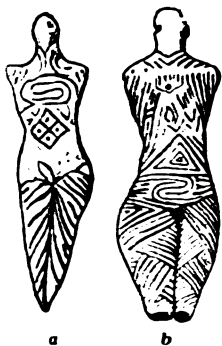


Fig. 51. Clay idols with incised geometric ornaments. Cucuteni, near Jassy, Roumania. From Hubert Schmidt, *Tordos* in *Z. f. E.* (1903), p. 466, fig. 44 and 45. Cf. J. Déchelette, *Manuel I*, fig. 213, p. 568.



Fig. 52. Chalk drum found in a barrow on Folkton Wold, East Riding, Yorks., England. From *British Museum, Guide to the Bronze Age* (1920), fig. 74. Cf. N. Åberg, *Civ. Enéol.*, fig. 228. — ¹/₂.



Fig. 53. Mortuary urn. Åsahögen, parish of Kvistofta, Skåne, Sweden. From Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 743. — ¹/₂.

senting a human figure, fig. 52. There it is repeated as an ornamental device, and similarly also on the Iberian idols of fig. 26, g the Maltese idol of Pl. VII:5, 6, and the Cyprian one of Pl. X:4. The frequency of checker-board designs in European ceramics is too well-known to necessitate many words on the matter. I just give a few instances, in Pl. VIII:8 a Spanish vessel, in Pl. IX:4 a German, and in fig. 53 a Swedish one. Cf. Pl. V:8.

The Chinese graphical sign of a square means a tilled field. This may be explained as a secondary meaning due to its character of giving fertility as "Mother Earth". On the basis of the Chinese graphical sign and the Egyptian denomination for a "bailiwick" — a double row of squares — Mr. Gärte²⁾ interprets the checker-board pattern as denoting ground. As a typical example he reproduces (in his fig. 22) a painted door on an Egyptian sarcophagus, which he considers as representing land and water (the wavy line). An interpretation

¹⁾ *Religions*, p. 233.

²⁾ *Mannus VI*, p. 360.

of the sarcophagus with the check design may, however, equally well be based upon the symbolism indicated above. V. Macchioro exemplifies, by a large number of illustrations, the occurrence of the checker-board pattern in the Mediterranean area, but confines himself to stating its sacred meaning. One of these illustrations, reproduced here in fig. 54, is of great interest. We see a dead body lying in a checkered sarcophagus, — if we choose to interpret the motif in this way.

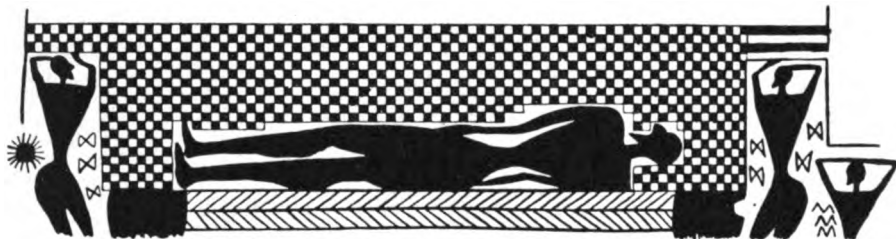


Fig. 54. Part of the painted design on a clay vessel. The body of the dead is seen to lie in a sarcophagus with a checker-board design. From Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, t. VII, fig. 56. Cf. V. Macchioro, *Das Schachbrettmuster in der mittelländischen Kultur*, fig. 29 in Mannus, IV, p. 351 sqs.

On both sides are men standing with their hands uplifted. The double triangle and the sun make the picture still more complete. It is evident that the checker-board pattern was of very frequent occurrence in the cult of the dead. It is very pronounced in Etruscan sepulchral paintings. Without himself deducing any inferences from the fact, Macchioro tells us that on Dipylon vases there are often processions of women mourners dressed in clothes with a check pattern. But he also describes a picture evidently representing the ceremony in Hera's honour that was celebrated when they decked the bridal bed with branches. (Cf. the may-pole as a symbol of life.) The "maying" women are dressed in the same kind of garments with check patterns. The connexion is obvious. Finally, I should like to return to what was said above, p. 95, with regard to the signification of the triangle in modern times, and here I should like to emphasize the fact that the square or check with a dot may often assume the signification of the triangle.¹⁾

Upon reconsidering Mr. Siret's interpretation of the triangular and check motives, I should like to say first of all that I do not propose to discuss any theories of Mr. Siret's beyond those already quoted. I cannot for instance agree with his opinion — expressed in the latter of his two publications²⁾ — that triangular ornamentation is associated with the conventionalized "spathe du palmier femelle". Nor when he uses this theory as a basis for interpreting the combined triangular motives of the idols, fig. 26, as analogous to the Assyrian "dieu palmier" fertilizing "le palmier mystique".³⁾

¹⁾ Krauss, *Anthropophyteia*. Wilke, *Mystische Vorstellungen*, etc. in Mannus VI, p. 25.

²⁾ *Questions*, p. 281 etc.

³⁾ This interpretation has also been criticized by Gärtle, *Work quoted above*, p. 362.

One circumstance that makes me inclined not merely to abandon Mr. Siret's hypothesis as regards the primary form of triangular and check motifs, is the occurrence of that motif in conjunction with other symbols of the same principle. Above all should be mentioned the cowry shell,¹⁾ accepted by everybody as being a female symbol.

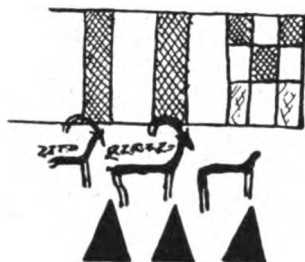


Fig. 55. Part of painted design on a mortuary urn. Naqada, Egypt. From Flinders Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LXVII: 15. Cf. W. Gärtle, *Die symbolische Verwendung des Schachbrettmusters im Altertum*, fig. 33, in Mannus, VI, p. 349 sqs.

I said above that the cowry shell was often copied as a decorative device on ceramics from the late Neolithic epoch in the Balkans and the Tripolje culture. The motif does not appear within Northern culture, and I therefore confine myself to compare some Chinese pottery, Pl. XI. We should note the identical placing of the cowry Pl. XI: 4 and the triangle and check-board motifs Pl. XI: 1, 3 on these Chinese vessels. We remember that the cowry is a very prominent ornamental device on Chinese pottery. This will be fully dealt with by Professor Andersson. But there are still further analogies. In Egyptian predynastic pottery — highly important, in my opinion, for throwing light upon the whole problem — the triangular pattern is to be found not only separately, as in Pl. VII: 4, but also together with boats, as well as plant-patterns, the former being, according to the generally accepted view, ritual boats for sun — i. e. fertility — worship,²⁾ the latter being considered to denote the tree of life, Pl. VII: 1. The boats are often provided with such a "may-pole", but there are also conventionalized trees. Mr. Schweinfurth³⁾ and, after him, Mr. Capart⁴⁾ have

¹⁾ Other shells as well. Cf. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, II, Berlin (1910), p. 126, 204, and other authors.

²⁾ Cf. Almgren, *Work quoted above*, p. 46. I am rather inclined to believe however that what Almgren calls the "cabins" may possibly be a kind of tent-like arrangement in order to guard the mummy on his death-bed. Cf. G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 1901. But I think it is much more probable that they represent sacrificial altars with corners projecting like horns. (I attribute a sacred significance to the horns.) Cf. the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and others. The symbol denoted by Almgren has been compared with the symbol of the god Min (cf. below).

³⁾ *Ornamentik d. ältesten Culturepoche Aegyptens*, Verh. d. Berliner Gesellsch. f. Anthrop., Ethn. u. Urgesch. (1897), p. 391.

⁴⁾ *Les débuts de l'art en Egypte*, Bruxelles, (1904), p. 112.

declared these to be the aloe, Pl. VII: 2, regarded by them as a symbol of vital power. All over the Orient, and particularly in Egypt, it is symbolical to this very day. It is planted on the graves, a suggestive point for us. Mr. Capart has also paid attention to the triangular motive and observed its use, fig. 55, as a background for a flock of animals. He believes — following the view of Prof. Flinders Petrie¹⁾ — that the triangles may perhaps represent mountains on which the animals are wandering. It will not seem necessary, then, to consider the animals of fig. 55 as really walking on the triangles. A single triangle often occurs on Greek vessels, fig. 57, but so also does a check pattern, fig. 56, Pl. V: 8, or a swasika combined with figures of animals in such a manner as to render comprehension easier, should the symbol be regarded as producing life, i. e. regenera-



Fig. 56. Part of the design on a clay vessel. Analatos, Attica, Greece. From E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 2. ed., fig. 46, p. 63.

tive or multiplying. In this connexion I can further draw attention to the location of a double triangular ornament beside the flock of animals in fig. 39.

The vase-sherd from Aegina, fig. 57, seems to me to be significant. Another Grecian vase-sherd, fig. 58, affords very convincing evidence of the fact that successive triangles do not always denote mountains. In this case that interpretation would not at all fit in with the boats carrying worshipping human figures. Should we choose to regard the Iberian idols as images of Mother Earth, in conformity with Mr. Gärtle's opinion²⁾ and Mr. Siret's theories, we cannot very consistently take the triangle as denoting, at the same time, mountains and the symbol of the "Fruchtbare gebärende Natur- und Muttergöttin". The vessel Pl. V: 8 shows an interesting combination of triangles, checker-board pattern "may-pole" and horn bearing animals.

¹⁾ Capart, *Work quoted*, p. 112. Petrie, *Koptos*, London. (1896).

I should like to draw attention to Mr. Capart's adoption of Prof. Flinders Petrie's theory connecting the Naqada pottery, mentioned above, with the ornaments of the two primitive Min-sculptures from Koptos. In one of these well-known, exceedingly rude and primitive sculptures of the ithyphallic fertility god Min, there are figures, similar to those of the Naqada vessels, representing animals "walking" on such triangular patterns, by other investigators regarded as mountains. I should like to mention the occurrence of peculiar signs composed of triangles and called Min symbols.

²⁾ *Work quoted above*, p. 362.

Among ornaments to which may possibly be ascribed a symbolic meaning similar to that of the triangular pattern indicated above, I should also like to mention the comb motif. The two patterns often co-exist, which is a point in favour of drawing parallels of interpretation. It is chiefly in Susa ceramics that naturalistic comb motifs are to be found. A typical specimen is illustrated in fig.



Fig. 57. Design on a clay vessel. Aegina, Greece. From *Athenische Mitteilungen* (1897), pl. VIII. Cf. E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, fig. 28.



Fig. 58. Ship with adorants painted on a pot-sherd from the temple of Hera, Argos, Greece. From C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, II, Cambridge (1905), pl. 66:1. Cf. O. Almgren, *Hällristningar och kultbruk (Gravures sur rochers et rites magiques)*, fig. 35, p. 69.

59. There is an evident likeness between these combs with heads of animals and the Swedish comb from Gullrum (isle of Gotland, Sweden) with the head of an animal and a human figure. The Gullrum comb is held to be of sacred import.¹⁾ Pl. X:5 illustrates an interesting idol full of symbolic motifs, among which

¹⁾ See for instance Wilke, *Weitere Beiträge zur Heilkunde in der Indoeuropäischen Vorzeit*, Mannus VII, p. 21, 22.

is the comb and the tree of life. In Pl. IX: 7 we see a vessel of the Walternienburger type with more conventionalized combs, while the vessel of the Hallstatt type, fig. 60, from Franconia,¹⁾ has distinct combs combined with triangular decoration. There may exist Northern parallels — highly conventionalized —



Fig. 59. Painted clay vessel from the Necropolis at Susa. From J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires*, t. XIII, pl. XVI: 4.

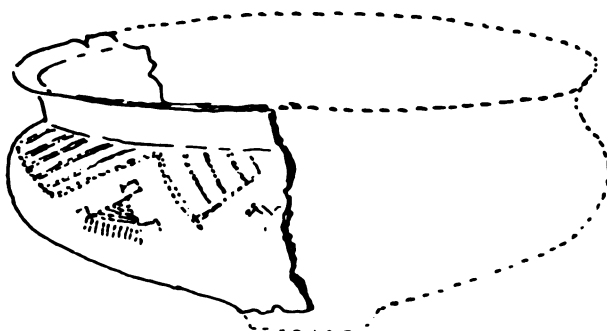


Fig. 60. Fragment of mortuary vessel with comb-shaped design. From G. Wilke, *Weitere Beiträge zur Heilkunde in der Indoeuropäischen Vorzeit*, fig. 25, p. 21 in Mannus, VII.

e. g. the amber bead of Pl. VIII: 9, which has parallels also in triangular ornament. A couple of stone amulets from Assur,²⁾ representing a god and a goddess holding in their hands combs suspended by cords, are noteworthy examples of

¹⁾ Wilke has reproduced several vessels with combs in Mannus VII.

²⁾ Shown at a temporary exhibition of finds from recent Oriental excavations, April 1929, in the Antiquarium, Berlin.

symbolic signification. According to Mr. Krauss the comb has the same signification as shells. It will have acquired this from the scallop-shell¹⁾ as an intermediary, on account of the importance of the latter as a symbol.

I should like to make brief mention of another motive, concurrent with triangular ornamentation, although of much less frequency. It is of corresponding significance, but executed naturalistically: the frog or lizard, whose symbolical character of denoting the uterus is testified to by many investigators.²⁾ Should



Fig. 61. Painted bowl from the Necropolis, Susa. From J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, t. XVII: 2.



Fig. 62. Textile design. Berber, North Africa. From E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, fig. 117, p. 466.

the frog be regarded as a symbol of rain, in the same way as the axe is said to represent Thor's thunderbolt, this must no doubt imply a secondary development, and its primary symbolism of promoting fertility will also have survived. We see the frog symbol, together with triangular and comb ornaments, on a Susa vessel, fig. 61, as well as on a remarkable Thuringian vessel of the Hallstatt period, fig. 21.

The reason for my examining the above ornamental motives, with an attempt at explaining them, is due to the fact that the vast importance of fertility cults among prehistoric, and even among modern primitive peoples, is becoming more and more realized. When, in 1889, the anonymous author of "*Phallism*"³⁾ published his studies founded on many keen observations, particularly with regard to

¹⁾ Its Greek name is *πέτεος* and its Latin, *pecten*. These words infact mean both vulva and comb. The same thing occurs amongst South Slav peoples. Cf. Krauss, *Work quoted above*, VI, p. 37 and Seligmann, *Work quoted above*, II, p. 127.

²⁾ Cf. among other works, F. Holter, *Ein Krötengefäß aus einem früheisenzeitlichen Gräberfeld von Halle-Trotha*, Mannus VI. Ergänzungsband (1928), p. 121, etc., as well as Bossert, *Work quoted*, p. 52, 90.

³⁾ Printed in London and followed in 1891 by two small volumes, *Phallic Miscellanies* and *Nature Worship*.

the Hindoo Lingam and Yoni cult, the closing words of his preface were the motto: "Evil be to him that evil thinks", evidently said with an apprehensive feeling of the risk he was running of a false construction's being put on his motives. Such warnings are no longer needed. Archaeologists and ethnologists interested in psychological points of view will, nowadays especially, be agreed as to the impropriety of in any way viewing primitive thought with the eyes of modern civilization. I recall here for instance the difficulty of Mr. Rivers¹⁾ in proving finding adequate expressions for the ideas of primitive and civilized beings. Thus, he tells us that it is impossible to translate quite correctly the word "dead" into Melanesian. In that language the nearest equivalent "mate" not only covers our notion but means more than it does. Moreover, death in our limited sense of the word represents to a Melanesian a different idea from what it does to us. "Mate-ness is itself a state, rather than an event, which may last for a long time, sometimes for years." Mr. Rivers explains to us that he who is "mate" need not be what we call dead, but that he is either so old or so ill that he "ought indeed to be so" and is considered to be considered as good as dead. He further explains that "it is clear that two states which lie on either side of this condition of mate-ness are to the primitive mind much less different from one another than are the two states separated in the civilized mind by the event of death. Even to the most fervent believer in existence after death among ourselves, the gap between life here and life hereafter is a great gulf. — — — — To primitive man, on the other hand, I believe that existence after death is just as real as the existence here which we call life. — — — — The second point, then, is that the existence after death is as real to primitive man as any other condition of his life, and that the difference between the two existences is probably of much the same order to the primitive mind as two stages of his life; say the stages before and after his initiation into manhood." Primitive man does not pass gradually from childhood into manhood. Through the performance of certain rites he steps directly from the stage of boyhood to that of manhood. According to Mr. Rivers a primitive mind will consider the transition from the "life" of the living to that of the dead in very much the same way. The performance of initiatory ceremonies when passing from a boy's to a man's life, as well as on other similar occasions in the course of his existence, will, however, require a certain time, during which he will be in a state of transition. In the same way there is a corresponding transitional state between ordinary life and the "life of the dead". By analogy with what was said above, it will seem but natural that burial and mortuary ceremonies should correspond to rites performed on the occasion of important events of ordinary existence.

Palaeolithic sculptures and the whole art of the Old Stone Age has revealed to us the intense, even overwhelming, interest that has been aroused by fertility cults in prehistoric times. This fact has been confirmed by the most irrefutable

¹⁾ W. H. R. Rivers, *Psychology and Ethnology*, London (1926), p. 36 etc.

evidence of its survival in various cults, as in the Greek and Italian Priapus (phallus) cult, — the finds in Pompeii alone might be convincing enough — in the Lingam and Yoni cult of India, the phallus cult of Japan, and among present savage peoples, to cite some examples. With all these facts as a background, it will seem quite natural for us to find in graves expressions of such a cult, with its firm hold on life. We shall find it still more natural if we consider the fact that Egyptian texts, for instance, of a date as early as the time of the building of the pyramids, prove the existence of a belief in regeneration. Thus, man is to rise from the dead in the same way as Osiris, the god of Death. According to a text found in a pyramid, the shattered pieces of that god's body were found and then united again by his mother Nut: She gives to thee thy head and thy legs, she joins thy limbs together, and replaces thy heart in thy body.¹⁾ It is Isis that collects the body, cut to pieces by the evil brother Seth and cast to the winds, but it is Nut, the mother, that unites and regenerates the dead god. Mothers of gods, goddesses of fertility are those to whom human prayers are offered for regeneration. On a Mesopotamian cylinder there has been discovered the picture of a goddess, probably representing Istar, and the following inscription: "Oh, thou adorable one, giving salvation, life, and justice, give new life to my name."²⁾ In Egyptian faith this belief in a resurrection leavens the whole cult of the dead. Sepulchral paintings indicate the path to new life for the dead man, the mummification is to preserve his body in order that it may be the seat of his soul, and life-like sepulchral statues are to be its reserve resort in case the mummy should happen to be destroyed. But the majority of sepulchral objects, and not least the dead person's various ornamental articles, prove not only to have had their artistic purpose, but evidently to have been significative amulets as well.

If, however, we venture to treat such subtle things as ornamental motifs in conformity with the above point of view, we shall have to be able to point out corresponding customs represented in finds from graves at different places. Above all, we must single out from among sepulchral objects such naturalistic amulets as were intended to serve purposes symbolized by our ornamental motifs, that is: a gift of life or regeneration.

Such rites as were perhaps practised at the burial itself will as a rule have escaped our observation. What remains is only what we can infer from the orientation of the skeletons according to the points of the compass, and the position in which the dead body was placed in the grave. There is nothing improbable in the assumption that an intentional contraction of the skeletons ("Hocker") should have aimed at imitating the position of an embryo.³⁾ This practise was very widespread in respect of both time and locality. We have special opportunities of studying the idea of regeneration in India, where the

¹⁾ A. Erman, *Die Aegyptische Religion*, Berlin (1909), p. 111.

²⁾ Goblet d'Alviella, *The migration of symbols*, p. 189.

³⁾ Ebert, *Reallexikon*, V, Art. Hockerbestattung.

Lingam and Yoni cult was so predominant. The sick, especially children, were cured by being born again. This was effected either by letting the sufferer pass through the body of an image of a goddess, whose Yoni was to give new life to the sick child, or by causing it to pass symbolically through a rock formation or hollow tree resembling a Yoni.¹⁾ The last-mentioned method has been used as a remedy also in Europe, and has even been recorded in modern times, for instance in England.²⁾ The Nordic Museum has a collection of such hollow portions of tree especially used to cure sick children.³⁾ A person, who is still living and is now nearly 80 years of age, was very delicate as a child, and was therefore passed in a similar way through a tree growing in a circle, in the neighbourhood of Växiö (Småland).⁴⁾ The tree was in common use for this purpose.

Among sepulchral rites intended to produce life we may also include the general custom, occurring already in Palaeolithic times, of interring the dead in a layer of red-ochre spread out for the purpose, or of coating the dead body, sometimes the skeleton, with red-ochre. It is worth mentioning, too, that the well-known Palaeolithic fertility idol, the Venus from Willendorf (Austria), was painted with red-ochre, the colour of blood. I would recall here the fact that Professor Alm-gren⁵⁾ has suggested an explanation of "elf-mills" (älv-kvarnar) as corresponding to Yoni images. Their occurrence on Megalithic grave-slabs would thus accord well with that of other rites mentioned here.

Particularly obvious finds in some cases confirm our hypotheses concerning the importance of fertility or regenerative rites in the cult of the dead. Thus, in an Egyptian grave a phallus naturalistically reproduced has been found in the womb of a female mummy.⁶⁾ Ithyphallic⁷⁾ images and others of similar signification from the early Iron Age have been discovered in Italian graves containing women. An amber figure from Vetulonia representing a birth scene, reproduced by Hoernes⁸⁾ is very instructive. In Japanese graves, representations of phalli have been discovered,⁹⁾ and in India Lingam and Yoni images are erected on the graves.

The male symbol is more often rendered realistically than the female, probably because the former is more easily represented. But for the latter are substituted symbols, above all shells. During the Thesmophorion, Demeter's principal festival phalli and enormous scallop shells were carried in processions.¹⁰⁾ Shells have

¹⁾ *Phallism*, p. 48.

²⁾ *Phallism*, p. 16 etc. Cf. Andree, *Work quoted*, I, p. 31.

³⁾ Hammarstedt, N. E., *Värdbundna träd* in *Svensk forntro och folksed*, Nordiska Museet, H. 1, Stockholm (1920), p. 30.

⁴⁾ Oral communication by Miss Greta Rydeberg.

⁵⁾ *Work quoted*, p. 219 etc.

⁶⁾ Krauss, *Work quoted*, III, p. 422.

⁷⁾ F. v. Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, I, Heidelberg, p. 218. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Pl. 178: 1.

⁸⁾ *Work quoted*, p. 451: 2, cf. other figures represented here.

⁹⁾ Seligmann, *Work quoted above*, II, p. 203.

¹⁰⁾ Krauss, *Work quoted*.

proved to have been very common sepulchral objects since Palaeolithic times. As to the occurrence of the cowry, I refer to Professor Andersson's account in a coming work. In several Russian graves, and in a few cases in Sweden,¹⁾ eggs have been discovered made of clay, claimed by Mr. T. J. Arne to be symbols of resurrection. It seems to me very probable that grains of corn, beans, grape-stones etc. found in graves must have been of analogous meaning. Mr v. Duhn²⁾ quotes such instances from Italy, inter alia from the Forum (also from a child's grave). His theory is that the grains and seeds impart new vitality to the earth and have thus been placed there with this intention rather than as food for the dead.³⁾

Above we classified combs as belonging to symbols of the fertility cult, and I should like to emphasize their frequent occurrence in graves. There are also instances of miniature combs.⁴⁾ The symbolical significance of the comb is very evident in specimens decorated with sun-discs. Such have been excavated in Northern graves from the Bronze Age.⁵⁾

We need not feel puzzled by the variation of male and female symbols. The meaning of the two symbols is indeed identical. It is a well-known fact that most divinities have one male and one female representative, and many investigators are agreed as to the difficulty of interpreting fertility symbols in individual cases as male or female. Their close affinity will often render the individual meaning obscure. Thus Mr. Stoll says that "das in Aekt befindliche göttliche Princip Sahti" is personified "durch die Gestalten der Göttinnen, die den männlichen grossen Gottheiten beigelegt werden".⁶⁾ Mr Jeremias⁷⁾ underlines the fact that "die Mann-und Weiblichkeit ist für den Orientalen der Inbegriff der Vollkommenheit". The same god may even be both man and woman, as are Istar and Kybele. Early statues of the typical Egyptian fertility god Min were decorated with a female symbol in the shape of a shell (see below), which indeed is a characteristic example.

In connection with our present studies in sepulchral ceramics, I believe it to be of a certain interest to mention that a phallus is realistically represented on an Etruscan earthenware vessel, illustrated by Mr. Seligmann.⁸⁾ I recall once more the vessel in fig. 38. And I draw attention to the remarkable Peruvian earthenware vessel with extremely naturalistic nuptial scenes⁹⁾ as being exceed-

¹⁾ Gotland. Cf. Arne, *La Suède et l'Orient*, Archives d'Etudes Orientales, I, Uppsala, Leipzig, Paris, (1914), p. 216. A quite recent found in Sigtuna (near Stockholm).

²⁾ Work quoted above, p. 423, 424, 466.

³⁾ Work quoted, p. 424.

⁴⁾ Wilcke, Work quoted, p. 17 etc.

⁵⁾ Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 1366.

⁶⁾ *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, p. 687.

⁷⁾ Work quoted, p. 231.

⁸⁾ Work quoted, fig. 95, p. 149. Cf. also Krauss, Work quoted, III.

⁹⁾ Krauss, Work quoted, III, Taf. V—X.

ingly instructive in regard both to the connexion between the fertility cult and the cult of the dead, and to the rôle played by pottery vessels within the latter. Earthenware vessels with human faces, as in Pl. I: 5, Pl. II: 1, Pl. X: 4, fig. 27, and fig. 39: 1 may perhaps be regarded as a kind of idols bestowing regeneration. On the analogy of this we may attribute that character to the other vessels spoken of here as well.

Finally, I should like to quote a version¹⁾ of the Osiris myth, — strikingly illustrative in my opinion, — as to the manner in which fertility rites may have been absorbed by the cult of the dead in the form hinted at above. After Osiris had been killed and his body cut into pieces and dispersed in order to prevent his resurrection, Isis succeeded in collecting them and uniting the dead body again. Only one member was lacking, the phallus, and therefore Osiris would never be able to join the living any more, but had to reign over the dead.

Many objections can no doubt be made to the above hypotheses concerning the signification of triangle motives. First of all, the motive is so simple as to result very easily from many other naturalistic decorative devices. It is also evident that certain triangular motives in late Egyptian art have their nearest prototype in the Lotus. The ornament as such, however, cannot be derived from that flower, as it did not acquire ornamental use until the dynastic period.²⁾ Nevertheless it is easy to realize how the motive may be converted into the lotus flower with its triangular petals. The lotus is also a symbol of vital power, but we cannot tell whether there is any connexion. Although I disagreed above with certain conclusions drawn by Siret, I am willing to admit that conventionalization may involve a confusion of palmettes and triangular ornaments. I should like to mention, too, the frequent occurrence of a triangular motif on silver objects during the Viking period in the North.³⁾ I hope to have an opportunity of showing in another connection how this motif had its origin in a palmette ornament from the East.

SIGNIFICANCE OF AMULETS AGAINST THE EVIL-EYE

False notions concerning ornamental motifs and amulets treated above will no doubt arise on account of their being looked upon, in later popular belief, as prophylactic means of protection, above all against the evil-eye. Most peoples in a primitive stage of development regard practically all patterns as implying magic. "Die figürliche Verzierung und das geometrische Ornament sind aber in der Gerätekunst nie Selbstzweck, sondern dienen in jeder Weise dem Gerät, das sie schmücken", is the opinion of Mr. H. Th. Bossert⁴⁾ with regard to Africa. Mr. E. Westermarck⁵⁾ refers in an analogical way to some Berberian mats with

¹⁾ After Goblet d'Alviella, *Croyances*, I, (1911).

²⁾ Cf. W. D. Spanton, *Water Lilies of Egypt*, I, 1917, p. 18.

³⁾ O. Montelius, *Antiquités suédoises*, (1872), fig. 584 etc.

⁴⁾ *Work quoted*, II, p. 52.

⁵⁾ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, (1926), p. 414 etc., fig. 115—120.

patterns considered by him to imply protection against the evil-eye, fig. 62. This pattern bears also the most striking resemblance to the "death-pattern" of Neolithic pottery. A pointed object,¹⁾ preferably of metal,²⁾ is supposed to have a particular prophylactic effect.

This does not, however, imply that the point will remove the evil on account of its primary character of "stinging". We should remember, too, how widespread was and is the belief in the magical power of the comb with its many teeth.³⁾ Mr. Haddon⁴⁾ has a good deal of interesting information about combs from Malacca with triangular ornaments, worn by the women to prevent certain illnesses. In such a case the significance is surely a secondary one. In East Prussia the peasants are in the habit, when making butter, of putting a comb under the churn in order to protect against the evil-eye.⁵⁾ This secondary intention reveals the primary one, which was evidently to produce plenty. On the whole, we can trace the evolution of signification in the case of most symbols classified as producing fertility. We can thus see how they easily proceed to the idea of bringing luck in general, and then also to that of protecting against ill-luck, mostly brought by the evil-eye.

On continuing our investigation we shall thus find the cowry, as well as other shells⁶⁾ and figures of shells,⁷⁾ being used as amulets against the evil-eye. It is worth mentioning that small triangular trinkets are worn in India to protect against the evil-eye.⁸⁾ Images of phalli have, to a great extent, the same purpose. Amulets of that description are hung round the neck of small children in Italy to this very day. A great number of investigators have testified to the belief in the great power of phallic images as bringing luck and protection.⁹⁾ Mr. Frobenius¹⁰⁾ illustrates in an illuminating way how such images may possess parallel intentions, that of producing fertility and that of giving protection. He tells us that the African Djenni put the images in question on their houses for the purpose of protecting against the evil-eye, while a neighbouring tribe, the Bali, assured him that the Djenni had borrowed the symbol from them and declared that it

¹⁾ Cf. Ambrosiani, S., *Om "stdl" som makt- och skyddsmedel*, Svenska Litteratur Sällskapets Folkloristiska och Etnografiska Studier, III, Helsingfors, (1922). Hagberg, L., "*Vasst emot*". Några stålets föregångare som magiskt skyddsmedel, Fataburen, Stockholm, (1929, H. I).

²⁾ The importance of the metal is surely a secondary one in comparison with that of the point.

³⁾ Cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *Croyances, I, Le peigne liturgique de St. Loup*. It is interesting to note that several authors have attributed sacred symbolism to the well-known bone comb from the Stone Age dwelling-site at Gullrum, Gotland (Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 688). Cf. p. 105.

⁴⁾ *The evolution in Art*, (1895), p. 26, 236.

⁵⁾ Wilcke, Mannus, VII, (1915), p. 22 etc.

⁶⁾ Cf. among others Seligmann, *Work quoted*, II, p. 126.

⁷⁾ Cf. Westermarck, *Work quoted*, p. 450, fig. 60.

⁸⁾ W. Crooke, *Folk-lore of Northern India*, (1896).

⁹⁾ Cf. Ebert, *Reallexikon I*, art. Amulett, (also the bibliography). Seligmann, *Work quoted*, II, p. 196. Wilcke, Mannus, VII. V. Wundt, *Mythus und Religion*, Leipzig, (1910), p. 275, 498 etc.

¹⁰⁾ *Das unbekannte Afrika*, München, (1923), p. 113. Cf. Frobenius' figures.

would bring fertility. It is of some interest, too, to recall here the above-mentioned aloe (p. 104). I spoke of its being used as a symbol of life. In the Orient it is also regarded as protective against the evil-eye.¹⁾

As will thus appear from what has been said, it is my opinion that prophylactic significance proved in objects or ornamental motifs need not influence an interpretation of the same things as having primarily been intended to produce fertility. On the contrary, that very quality will have involved a protective one. Then the two may occur as parallels during long periods, as shown by Mr. Frobenius' instance just quoted.

COMMENTS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PREHISTORIC SEPULCHRAL OBJECTS

If it is true that amulets were placed in the graves, and that sepulchral pottery was decorated with symbolical ornaments — at least in certain cases — it will not seem improbable that other sepulchral objects may have been magic as well. The decoration of certain objects found in graves is an indisputable proof of their ritual meaning, although they were earlier considered to be domestic articles. Take for instance, the well-known Saxon ornamented stone axes.²⁾ Is it not possible, too, that Northern boat-shaped axes, excellent typical finds in individual tombs, may have been made rather for ritual purposes, than as real battle-axes? It has occurred to me, however, that conclusions with regard to finds in prehistoric graves have sometimes run somewhat too much along the beaten track. For instance, it has simply been taken for granted that an axe in a Stone Age grave should denote a male skeleton, or a spindle-whorl in another prehistoric grave that of a female. As regards Scandinavia, as in many other cases too, it is very difficult to determine the skeleton material definitely by anthropological means. All graves with cremated remains must be left out of consideration as a matter of course. From the confused contents found in the Megalithic tombs of the Stone Age we cannot infer even to what skeleton the various objects belong. In individual tombs the skeletons are often so mouldered that we are not able to draw any conclusions as to their sex. In the very rare graves of the type in question whose skeleton material may be anthropologically defined, we should, however, note a few finds of weapons certainly not belonging to male skeletons. In the fishing village of Abbekås in Skåne (Sweden) there were discovered under a mound seven skeletons that had not been previously moved, as well as a stone cist.³⁾ Grave I yielded the skeleton of an elderly woman. On her chest was a

¹⁾ Schweinfurth, *Work quoted*.

²⁾ J. Lechler, *Die reichverzierten Steinäxte des Sächsischen Typus*, Mannus-Bibliothek, 22, (1922), p. 1, etc. Fig. Ia and fig. Ib, at least, are sepulchral finds.

³⁾ Folke Hansen, *Gravhögar vid Abbekås fiskeläge*, Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund, (1923—24), p. 30.

bone brooch and an amber trinket, and at her hip a small spearhead of flint. In Vellinge (Skåne), O. Rydbeck has examined a hitherto untouched grave containing two skeletons (defined by Mr. Fürst), the one that of a man, the other of a woman. To the right of the woman lay a flint dagger.¹⁾ In the Historical Museum of the University of Lund is a child's grave from Skepparslöv (Skåne), containing — according to information kindly furnished by Professor Rydbeck — a flint chisel. I shall not deny that as a rule weapons will have been placed in the graves as an equipment for men; I would only point out the risk of insisting upon the male sex of the buried person on account of finds of weapons. Mr. Sophus Müller says in his dissertation upon *Sépultures individuelles*,²⁾ that remains of skeletons, when found, are always mouldered and almost unrecognizable. He further classifies all graves with finds of axes or other weapons as the graves of men, and divides them into four groups. Finally he comes to the fifth group: the graves of women. Several contain amber trinkets, and some, earthenware pottery. He also says that these no doubt contained women, although no proof can be furnished other than that of the finds themselves. The author is himself surprised at the relative scantiness of such finds, which were barely 1 to every 10 of other types. Even if all finds that do not consist of weapons — i. e. those of pottery only — are assigned to women, their number will be very slight in comparison with those assigned to men. Women must thus often have been buried without such an outfit as may have been preserved through long periods. The discovery of graves without such objects is not so rare an occurrence, and some things may have escaped attention in the loose mould.³⁾

A careful examination of skeletons, when it is possible to undertake it, may provide us with fresh points of view, as has been proved by finds in Neolithic and Aeneolithic graves at Remedello (Italy).⁴⁾ A standard publication on this subject is, as far as I can judge, that of Mr. F. v. Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, Heidelberg (1924). He notes, concerning the Remedello graves,⁵⁾ that both men and women were furnished with weapons as sepulchral objects. There were thus found a dagger of stone or copper, spears with fine stone or bronze blades, a great number of arrow-heads and quivers. He enumerates instances from other Italian graves as well. At Rivale Veronese (Italy), a skeleton of a woman was discovered, surrounded by flint knives, arrow-heads, fragments of earthenware pottery and prickers.⁶⁾ He also mentions a child's grave dating from the Iron Age found in the Forum in Rome, with a spear-head,⁷⁾ and a similar child's grave from

¹⁾ F. Hansen, *De arkeologiska fynden vid Svartå fiskläge*, Fornvännen, (1923), p. 236.

²⁾ Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, København (1898), p. 164.

³⁾ *Work quoted above*, p. 267 etc.

⁴⁾ G. A. Colini, *Il sepolcreto di Remedello-Sotto*, Parma, (1899).

⁵⁾ P. 15. Cf. the same author in Ebert, *Reallexikon* art. Remedello.

⁶⁾ P. 18. Quoted from the *Bulletino di paletnologia italiana*, I, p. 145.

⁷⁾ P. 465. After *Notizii degli Scavi*, (1903), p. 385.

Samnium.¹⁾ From Kyme in Campania Mr. v. Duhn reports the surprising discovery, in several instances, of razors in women's graves from the transitional period between the Stone and the Bronze Age.²⁾ On the other hand, he instances a not inconsiderable number of spindle-whorls found in graves of men,³⁾ or children.⁴⁾ Occasional ornaments on spindle-whorls may prove the possibility of their having had magical significance.⁵⁾

Professor Unverzagt, of Berlin, has at my request kindly arranged an anthropological survey of several skeletons in the Prehistoric Department of the Museum für Völkerkunde, originating from Neolithic tombs at Rössen, Merzeburg. Dr. Weinert, who undertook the survey, has found that in one of the tombs a skeleton, probably of female sex, was associated with a string of beads "lange Kette" and a big stone-axe.

In presenting the above instances I have only desired to suggest the possibility of interpreting, to a certain extent, the ideas and conceptions of past times. The results to be gained therefrom will perhaps not correspond to the efforts expended. It is my intention, however, with due assistance, to institute, as far as possible, anthropological investigations within different fields, so as to render more complete the results we have so far been able to obtain from the study of various objects.

¹⁾ P. 612.

²⁾ P. 542. I recall here the obviously magical images often decorating Scandinavian razors from the Bronze Age, thus proving their character of amulets. Cf. for instance Almgren, *Work quoted*, fig. 12 and 13.

³⁾ P. 186, 542, 589.

⁴⁾ P. 216.

⁵⁾ For instance. H. Schmidt, *Work quoted*, p. 222.

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PLATE I

PLATE I.

Fig. 1. Mortuary vessel from China. The original in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, N:r 893. From a photograph.

„ 2. Mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Mogenstrup, district of Randers, Denmark. From S. Müller, *Oldtidens Kunst*, I, p. 33, fig. 119.

„ 3. Mortuary vessel. Skarpsalling, district of Slet, Denmark. From S. Müller, *Oldtidens Kunst*, I, p. 41, fig. 121.

„ 4. Fragment of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Parish of Lackalänge, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.

„ 5. Mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Svinö, district of Hammer, Denmark. From S. Müller, *Oldtidens Kunst*, I, p. 53, fig. 164.

„ 6. Mortuary vessel. Lindenberg, district of Høllum, Denmark. From S. Müller, *Oldtidens Kunst*, I, p. 45, fig. 139. Cf. A. P. Madsen, *Avbildninger, Stenalderen, Lerkar*, 13.



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PLATE II

PLATE II.

- Fig. 1. Mortuary vessel. Village of Gundestrup, district of Od, Denmark. From C. A. Nordman, *Jaettestuer i Danmark (Nouvelles fouilles de "Chambres de Geants" en Danmark)* in Nord. Fortidsminder, vol. II: 2, Copenhagen (1918), p. 68, fig. 25.
- „ 2. Fragment of a mortuary vessel. Fjärrestad, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum, Stockholm. (N:r 13305.) From a photograph.
- „ 3. Fragment of a mortuary vessel. Kungsdösen, Ö. Torp, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 4, 5. Mortuary urn from a long-barrow. Odder, district of Had, Jutland. The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. (N:r A 1233.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 6. Fragment of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Over Jersdal, district of Haderslev Öster, Denmark. From S. Müller, *Oldtidens Kunst*, I, p. 40, fig. 126.
- „ 7. Fragment of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Kungsdösen, Ö. Torp, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 8. Fragment of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Södervidinge, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.

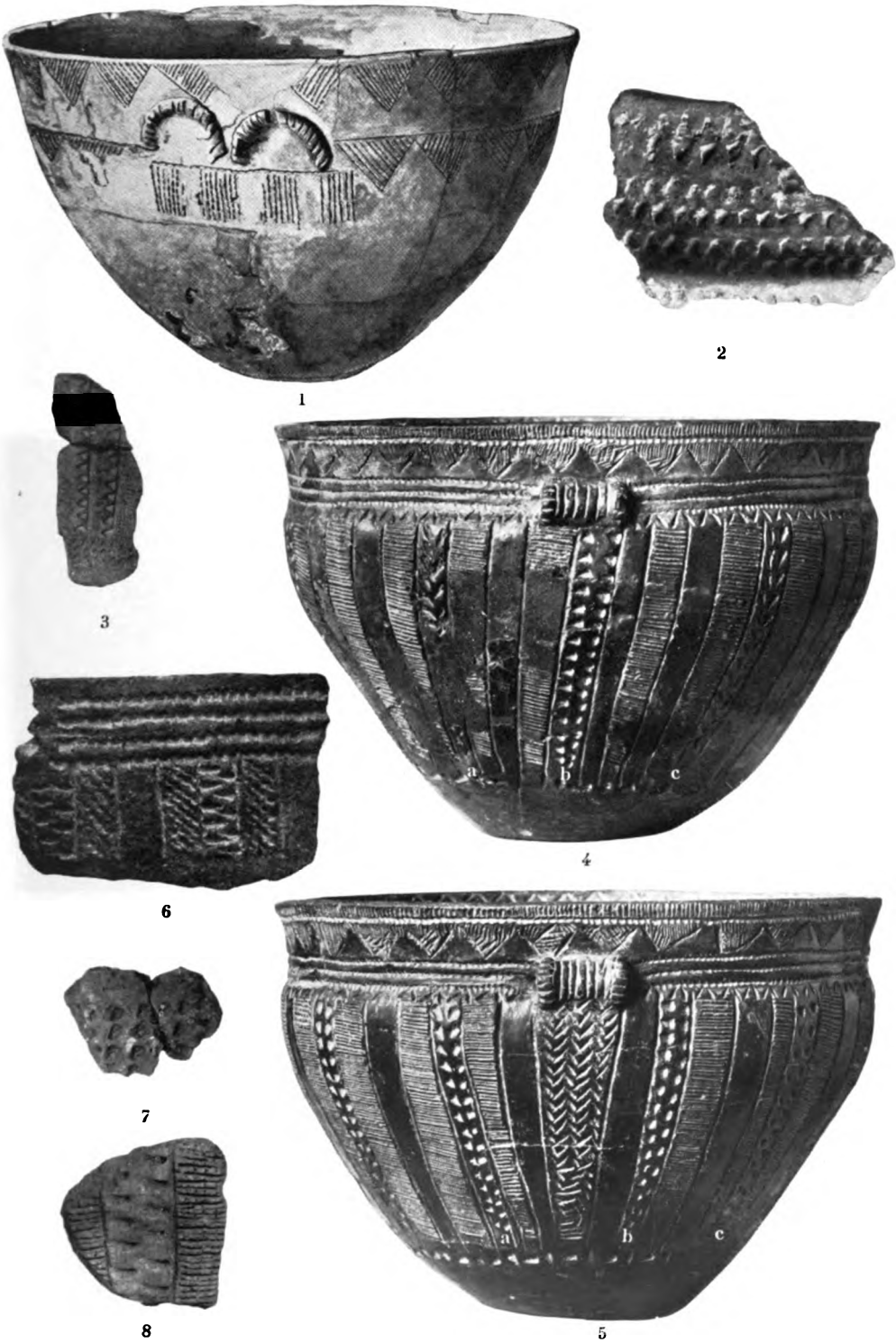


PLATE III

PLATE III.

- Fig. 1. Fragments of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Katstrup, parish of S. Saby, district of Löve, Zealand, Denmark. The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. (N:r A 22597.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- .. 2. Fragments of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Hög, district of Harjäger, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- .. 3. Fragments of a clay vessel found in a peat-bog. Roslökke, parish of S. Tryggelev, Isle of Langeland, Denmark. The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. (N:r A 8231.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- .. 4. Fragment of a mortuary vessel. Erkedösen, parish of V. Torp, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- .. 5. Fragment of a mortuary vessel. Kungsdösen, parish of Östra Torp, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- .. 6. Fragment of a clay vessel found in a peat-bog. Lilletofte, district of Baag, Denmark. From S. Müller, *Stenalderens Kunst*, I, p. 35, fig. 112. Cf. Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldkyndighed og Hist., Copenhagen (1913), 270.
- .. 7. Fragment of a mortuary vessel. Erkedösen, parish of Västra Torp, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- .. 8. Fragment of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Laxmannes, parish of Åkarp, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund, Sweden. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.

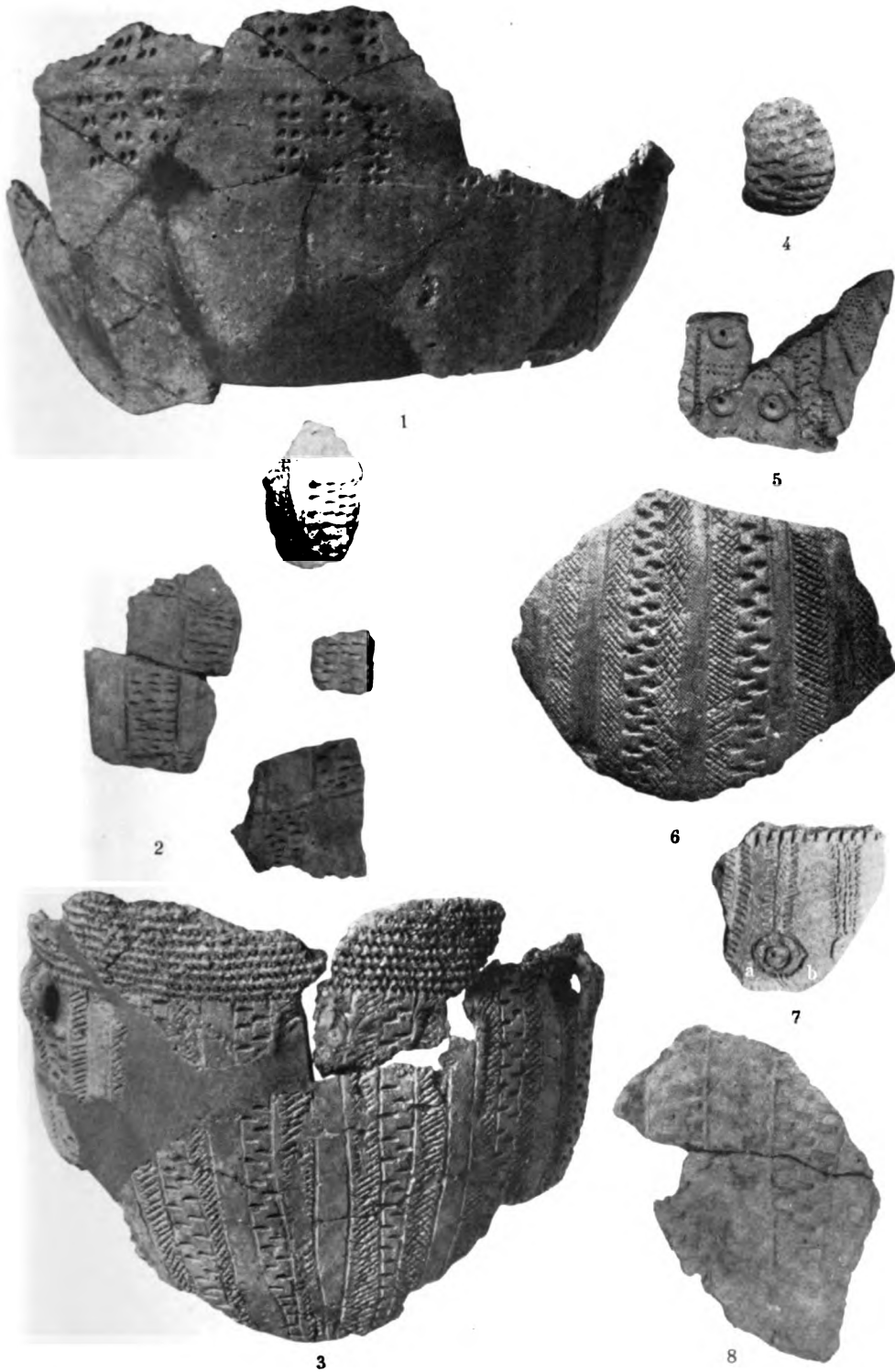


PLATE IV

PLATE IV.

- Fig. 1.** Fragment of a clay vessel, found in a peat-bog. Aarby, parish of Aarby, Zealand, Denmark. The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. (N:r A 10817.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ **2.** Mortuary vessel found in a long-barrow. Loddenhög, parish of S. Rörby, district of Holbaek, Zealand, Denmark. The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. (N:r Z 1264.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ **3.** Part of a mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Katstrup, parish of S. Säby, district of Holbaek, Zealand, Denmark. (N:r A 22597.) The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ **4.** Mortuary vessel from a long-barrow. Katstrup, parish of S. Säby, district of Holbaek, Zealand, Denmark. The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. (N:r A 22597.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.



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PLATE V.

- Fig. 1. Painted vessel. Sesklos. Greece. From *Χρηστός Τσοῦντας, Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμητίου καὶ Σέσκλου*, Athenes (1908), pl. VII: 1.
- „ 2. Fragment of a clay vessel. Thebes, Greece. From Wace and Thompson, *Preh. Thessaly*, Cambridge (1912), fig. 113.
- „ 3. Mortuary vessel. Ning Ting Hsien, Kansu, China. From J. G. Andersson, *Preliminary report on Archaeological Research in Kansu*, in *The Geol. Survey of China. Memoirs, Series A, N:r 5* (1925), pl. IV: 2.
- „ 4. Painted pot-sherd from Anau, Turkestan. From R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, I, Washington (1908), pl. 35: 2.
- „ 5. Painted pot-sherd, Anau, Turkestan. From R. Pumpelly, *Work quoted*, pl. 35: 5.
- „ 6. Pot-sherd. Anau, Turkestan. From R. Pumpelly, *Work quoted*, pl. 15: 5.
- „ 7. Painted vessel. Susa, Persia. From J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires*, T. XIII, pl. XLI: 6.
- „ 8. Painted vessel. Susa, Persia. From J. de Morgan, *Work quoted*, T. XIII, pl. IV: 2.



PLATE VI

PLATE V.

- Fig. 1. Painted vessel. Sesklos. Greece. From *Χρηστός Τσοῦντας, Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀγροπόλεις Διμητίου καὶ Σέσκλου*, Athenes (1908), pl. VII: 1.
- „ 2. Fragment of a clay vessel. Thebes, Greece. From Wace and Thompson, *Preh. Thessaly*, Cambridge (1912), fig. 113.
- „ 3. Mortuary vessel. Ning Ting Hsien, Kansu, China. From J. G. Andersson, *Preliminary report on Archaeological Research in Kansu*, in *The Geol. Survey of China. Memoirs, Series A, N:r 5* (1925), pl. IV: 2.
- „ 4. Painted pot-sherd from Anau, Turkestan. From R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, I, Washington (1908), pl. 35: 2.
- „ 5. Painted pot-sherd, Anau, Turkestan. From R. Pumpelly, *Work quoted*, pl. 35: 5.
- „ 6. Pot-sherd. Anau, Turkestan. From R. Pumpelly, *Work quoted*, pl. 15: 5.
- „ 7. Painted vessel. Susa, Persia. From J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires*, T. XIII, pl. XLI: 6.
- „ 8. Painted vessel. Susa, Persia. From J. de Morgan, *Work quoted*, T. XIII, pl. IV: 2.



PLATE VI

PLATE VI.

- Fig. 1. Clay vessel. Urmitz-Weissenthurm, Rheinprov., Germany. From N. Åberg, *Das Nordische Kulturgebiet*, fig. 253. Cf. Rademascher in *Opuscula archaeologica Oscari Montelio dicata*, p. 38.
- „ 2. Clay vessel. Walternienburg, Kr. Jerichow I, Germany. From N. Niklasson, *Studien über die Walternienburg, Bernburger Kultur*, I, pl. VI: 2 a. in *Jahresschrift für die Vorgeschichte der Sächsisch-Thüringischen Länder*, Bd XIII (1925).
- „ 3. Clay vessel. Braunsdorf, Kr. Querfurt, Germany. From N. Åberg, *Das Nordische Kulturgebiet*, fig. 276.
- „ 4. Clay vessel. Avila (Madrid). From N. Åberg. *Civ. Enéol.*, fig. 308.
- „ 5. Clay vessel. Somerset, England. From J. Abercromby, *A study of the Bronze Age pottery of Great Britain & Ireland and its associated grave-goods*, I, Oxford (1912), pl. V: 12. Cf. N. Åberg, *Civ. Enéol.*, fig. 315.
- „ 6. Painted urn. Chäronea, Greece. From D. Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, Leipzig & Berlin (1927), fig. 58, p. 70.



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PLATE VII

PLATE VII.

- Fig. 1. Painted urn. Egypt. The original in Neues Museum, Berlin. (N:r 20304.)
From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 2. Painted urn. Egypt. The original in Neues Museum, Berlin. From a
photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 3. Vessel-shaped mortuary idol. Egypt. The original in Neues Museum,
Berlin. (N:r 13501.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the
Museum.
- „ 4. Painted urn. Egypt. The original in Neues Museum, Berlin. From a
photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 5, 6, 7, 8. Mortuary clay idols from the Hal-Tarxien Temple, Malta. From
T. Zammit, *The Hal-Tarxien Neolithic Temple, Malta* in *Archaeologia*, vol.
LXVII, Oxford (MCMXVI), pl. XVIII: I: 1, 2; II: 2, 3.
- „ 9. Incised clay vessel. Wiesenacker, Germany. The original in Staatl.
Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Prachistorische Abteilung, Berlin. (N:r II C 3431 g.)
From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.



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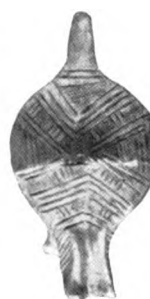
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PLATE VIII

PLATE VIII.

- Fig. 1, 2, 3.** Stoneslabs from a megalithic tomb at Göhlitzsch, Merseburg, Germany. The original in the Landesanstalt für Vorgeschichte (Provinzial-Museum der Provinz Sachsen), Halle a. d. Saale. From a photograph. publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ **4, 5, 6, 7.** Potsherds from a megalithic tomb at Örum, Skåne, Sweden. The original in the Historical Museum, Stockholm. (N:r 16917: 14, 15, 5, 1.) From a photograph.
- „ **8.** Clay vessel. Vallecas, Spain. From N. Åberg, *Civ. Enéol.*, fig. 299.
- „ **9.** Amber bead with comb-shaped patterns. From a peat-bog. Eising district of Ginding, Denmark. From S. Müller, *Oldtidens Kunst*, I, fig. 48.
- „ **10.** Clay idol. Troy. The original in the Staatl. Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Præhistorische Abteilung, Berlin. (N:r IV d 1628.) From a photograph. publ. by permission of the Museum.



PLATE IX

PLATE IX.

- Fig. 1. Painted clay vessel. Wiesenacker, Germany. The original in the Staatl. Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Praehistorische Abteilung, Berlin. (N:r II C p. 3428.) From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 2. Incised potsherd from the Dwelling-place of Signalbacken, Aalborg, Denmark. The original in the National Museum, Copenhagen. From a photograph, publ. by permission of the Museum. Cf. Madsen, Müller, Neergaard, *Affaldsynger*, Copenhagen.
- „ 3. Incised clay vessel. San Isidro, Spain. From N. Åberg, *Civ. Enéol.*, fig. 302.
- „ 4. Incised clay vessel. Tangermünde, Germany. The original in the Staatl. Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Praehistorische Abteilung, Berlin. (N:r I g 101.) From a photograph. publ. by permission of the Museum.
- „ 5. Face-vessel of clay. Hissarlik-Troy. From Schliemann, *Ilios*, n:r 986. Cf. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 361, fig. 6.
- „ 6. Clay vessel. Smíchov near Prague, Czechoslovakia. From Montelius. *Chronologie der ältesten Bronzezeit*, fig. 244. Cf. N. Åberg, *Das nord. Kulturgebiet*, fig. 301.
- „ 7. Incised clay vessel. Walternienburg, Kr. Jerichow I, Germany. From N. Niklasson, *Studien über die Walternienburg-Bernburger Kultur*, I, pl. LII: 1 in *Jahresschr. f. die Vorgesch. der Sächsisch-Thüringschen Länder*, vol. XIII (1925).
- „ 8. Incised clay vessel. Walternienburg, Kr. Jerichow, Germany. From C. Schuchhardt, *Alteuropa*, Strassburg & Berlin (1919), pl. XVI: 6.
- „ 9. Face-vessel of clay. Hissarlik-Troy. From Schliemann, *Troja*, n:r 101. Cf. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 361, fig. 5.



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PLATE X

PLATE X.

- Fig. 1. Clay idol. Egypt. From A. Scharff, *Grundzüge der Aegyptischen Vorgesch.*; in *Morgenland*, n:r XII, Leipzig (1927), pl. XII, fig. I.
- „ 2, 3. Mortuary clay idol viewed from two sides. Tracy. From M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 319, fig. I, Ia.
- „ 4. Idol of clay. Cyprus. From M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 10. Cf. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 365, fig. 6.
- „ 5. Idol of clay. Boeotia. From G. Wilke, *Weitere Beiträge zur Heilkunde in der Indoeuropäischen Vorzeit*, Mannus VII, p. 21, fig. 27.
- „ 6. Human figure of clay. Tscharschia, Servia. From M. M. Vassits in *Stari-nar der serb. archäol. Gesellsch.*, N. F., III (1908), p. 76, fig. 4. Cf. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 317, fig. 5.
- „ 7—8. Cappadocian idols of alabaster. From G. Contenau, *Idoles en pierre in Syria* (1927), pl. XLV (e 2 c).
- „ 9. Badarian figurin. From V. Gordon Childe, *The most ancient East*, London (1928), pl. IV: I.



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PLATE X

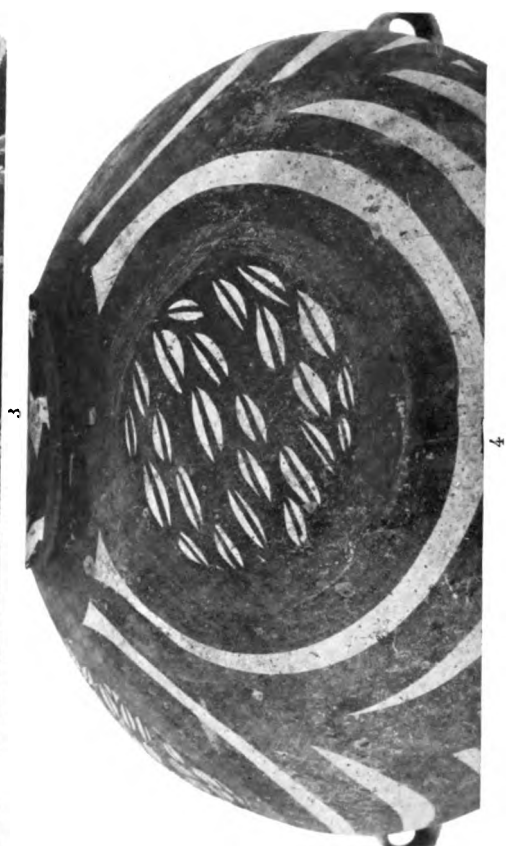
PLATE XI

PLATE XI.

Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4. Painted Chinese clay vessels. The originals in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. (N:r 5169, 5982, 5465, 5828.)



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DER WEG ÜBER DIE STEPPEN

VON

J. G. ANDERSSON

MIT DREI TAFELN

Zu beiden Seiten des regenreichen Äquatorialgürtels liegen sowohl auf der nördlichen wie auf der südlichen Halbkugel Zonen mit spärlichen Niederschlägen, zwei Regionen, die überwiegend Steppen und Wüsten aufweisen. Diese trockenen Gürtel kommen in der Regel dem Äquator nicht näher als 15 Grad nördlicher bzw. südlicher Breite, und ihre Ausdehnung nach den Polen hin überschreitet nicht den fünfzigsten Breitengrad. Zwischen diesen Grenzen liegen zwar auch grosse Gebiete mit mittleren und auch reichlichen Niederschlägen, aber die grossen Wüsten und Steppen der Erde fallen doch ganz in diese beiden Gürtel.

Auf der südlichen Halbkugel ist das Meer vorherrschend, aber in allen den Südländern, die zwischen 15 und 50° südlicher Breite liegen, also in Südafrika, Südamerika und Australien, finden wir Steppen- und Wüstengebiete.

Auf der nördlichen Halbkugel haben wir, ausser der Wüsten- und Steppenregion Nordamerikas, die breite Festlandsmasse der Alten Welt mit einem fast zusammenhängenden Steppen- und Wüstengürtel vom Stillen Ozean an, dort wo die grosse chinesische Mauer ans Meer stösst, bis nach dem Atlantischen Ozean an der Westküste Afrikas hin.

Die mongolische Wüste oder Gobi mit den umliegenden Steppenländern, das Tarimbecken, die Steppen um den Balkasch- und Aralsee herum, die waldlosen Länder nördlich vom Kaspischen Meer, dem Kaukasus und dem Schwarzen Meer, das Hochland von Iran und Arabien, Libyen und die Sahara — dies nur einige Namen aus diesem grössten Wüstengürtel der Erde, zu dem auch das Rote Meer und in gewissem Sinne das Mittelmeer gerechnet werden können, mit 40 bzw. 38 Promille Salzgehalt gegen 35 Promille, das der normale Salzgehalt des Meeres ist.

Der östliche Teil dieses grossen Steppen- und Wüstengürtels ist es, mit dem wir uns hier beschäftigen werden, jener Teil, der sich durch Eurasien vom Gelben Meere bis zur ungarischen Pussta hin erstreckt. Aus leicht verständlichen Gründen werde ich hauptsächlich von den grossen Entdeckungen der letzten Jahrzehnte in Zentralasien und im äussersten Osten sprechen.

* *

*

Als im Jahre 1271 der venezianische Jüngling Marco Polo in Gesellschaft seines Vaters und Oheims die lange Reise durch Asien nach dem Hofe des Grosskhans im äussersten Osten antrat, sollte eine Reihe von Umständen dazu führen, dass er

der Nachwelt die vielleicht bemerkenswerteste Reiseschilderung in der Geschichte der geographischen Entdeckungen hinterliess.

Schon einige Jahre vor ihm hatten zwei andere Reisende, Giovanni Carpini und Wilhelm von Rubruk, den zentralasiatischen Wüstengürtel nach dem Mongolenhofe am Orchonflusse durchreist, und der letztgenannte war entschieden als Schilderer von Ländern und Völkern der bedeutendste der dreien.

Aber Marcos Reiseweg führte ihn durch Gegenden, die bis dahin dem Abendlande unbekannt gewesen waren, wie Pamir, das von ihm zum erstenmal erwähnt wurde, ferner Kaschgar, Yarkand und Khotan, sowie auch die Lobwüste, Gebiete, die später erst in den 1860er und 70er Jahren von britischen und russischen Forschungsreisenden näher erforscht wurden, und — was am bedeutungsvollsten ist — seine Reise erstreckte sich bis nach dem fernen sagenhaften Cathay, dem jetzigen China, und im Dienste des Mongolenkaisers erhielt er Gelegenheit, dieses mächtige Reich, gleichwie auch später andere asiatische Länder, kreuz und quer zu durchreisen. Sein hervorragender moderner Biograph, Sir Henry Yule, hat mit Recht seine gewaltigen Beiträge zur Erdkunde folgendermassen zusammengefasst:

„Er war der erste Reisende, der ganz Asien durchzog, das eine Königreich nach dem anderen benennend und beschreibend, alles Länder, die er mit eigenen Augen gesehen hatte, die Wüsten Persiens, die jadeführenden Flüsse Khotans, die mongolischen Steppen, die Wiege der Macht, die vor so kurzer Zeit noch gedroht hatte, die ganze Christenheit zu vernichten, sowie den neuen und prachtvollen Hof, der unlängst bei Cambaluc errichtet worden war. Er war der erste, der China in all seinem Reichtum und seiner Grösse schilderte, die gewaltigen Ströme des Landes, die grossen Städte, die reichen Produkte, das Völkergewimmel, die zahllosen Flotten, die die Meere und die binnenländischen Gewässer bevölkerten, weiterhin Tibet, Burma, Laos, Siam, Cochinchina, Japan und das grosse Indien, nicht wie ein Traumland aus Fabeln von dem Alexanderzuge her, sondern als einen mit eigenen Augen gesehenen und teilweise erforschten Weltteil.“¹⁾

* *

In gleicher Weise, wie die drei ebengenannten mittelalterlichen Reisenden dank besonderen Umständen Bahnbrecher für unsere Kenntnis von den Ländern und Völkern des inneren Asiens wurden, haben in unserer eigenen Zeit Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein und die deutschen Kunstforscher von Grünwedel und Le Coq sowie der Franzose Pelliot uns den Zutritt zu den sagenhaften Kulturen eröffnet, die in Ostturkestan während des ersten Jahrtausends unserer Zeitrechnung blühten.

Wenn auch bereits früher einige Altertumsfunde aus diesen Gegenden ihren Weg nach Russland und Indien gefunden haben, so kommt doch Sven Hedin das

¹⁾ Gekürzte Übersetzung aus *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, edited by Sir Henry Yule, London, 1926, Vol. I. Intr. notices. S. 106—107.

unvergängliche Verdienst zu, durch die Entdeckung und Erforschung der Ruinenstädte bei Kerija darja und der chinesischen Wüstenstadt Loulan die Ära glänzender archäologischer Entdeckungen eingeleitet zu haben, die sich von seiner Reise 1893—1897 hinstreckt bis zu Sir Aurel Steins letzter Expedition und seinem neuen Werk *Innermost Asia*.

Wir dürfen wohl übrigens mit Fug hinzufügen, dass unsere Erwartungen sich in ebenso hohem Grade der gegenwärtigen grossen Expedition Hedins zuwenden, bei der europäische und chinesische Archäologen Hand in Hand arbeiten.

Durch diese Arbeiten in Loulan, Turfan, Tun Huang und an anderen Fundorten haben wir nicht nur chinesische Militärposten längs der „grossen Seidenstrasse“ im dritten Jahrhundert n. Chr. kennen gelernt, sondern auch das Gewimmel von Völkern, Sprachen, Reichen und Kunstrichtungen, die in kaleidoskopischem Wechsel sich durcheinander drängten, bis schliesslich die Mongolen und später muhammedanische Turkvölker das blühende Kulturleben dieser Gegenden erstickten.

* *

*

Im Jahre 1897, also in dem Jahre, nachdem *Sven Hedin* seine grundlegenden Funde in Ostturkestan gemacht hatte, veröffentlichte der deutsche Archäologe *P. Reinecke* in der *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* einen Aufsatz „Über einige Beziehungen der Alterthümer Chinas zu denen des skythisch-sibirischen Völkerkreises“, ein Aufsatz, der der zentralasiatischen Altertumsforschung ein neues Feld erschloss.

Seit lange war es bekannt gewesen, dass die Bronze- und Goldfunde, die im südlichen Sibirien, besonders in der Gegend von Minusinsk, gemacht worden waren, auffallende Analogien zu den unerhört reichen Metallschätzen in den skythischen Gräbern nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres aufweisen. Reinecke lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit darauf, dass die frühgeschichtliche chinesische Metallkunst viele Analogien zu diesem skythisch-sibirischen Stil darbietet, dass so beispielsweise Spiegel ohne Griff, aber mit durchbrochenem Knopf auf der Rückseite, der genannten Stilgruppe und China gemeinsam sind, dass Bronzeklappen von einem gewissen charakteristischen Typus einerseits unter den skythischen Altertumsfunden Ungarns, andererseits in China vorkommen, sowie dass die chinesischen sogenannten Messermünzen grosse Ähnlichkeit mit den Bronzemessern der Minusinsker Gegend aufweisen. Reinecke bildet einen in China eingekauften Dolch ab, dessen auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit den sibirischen Bronzedolchen er nachweist, und den ich nun geneigt bin, in die nordchinesische Fundgruppe einzureihen, für die ich im folgenden den Namen *Suiquan-Bronzen* vorschlage.¹⁾

¹⁾ Ein Bronzedolch, in jeder Beziehung identisch mit dem von Reinecke S. 154 abgebildeten Dolch, ist von den Ostasiatischen Sammlungen neulich in Hangchow, der Hauptstadt der Provinz Chekiang, erworben worden.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass die beiden Gegenstände in Zentral-China erworben worden sind, der von Reinecke abgebildete Dolch in Shanghai.

Reinecke weist darauf hin, dass ein merkwürdiger Metallgegenstand, zwei Tiere in durchbrochener Arbeit darstellend, der in dem chinesischen archäologischen Werke *Chin-Shih-So*, in den 1820er Jahren von den *Brüdern Feng* publiziert, abgebildet wird — dass dieser Gegenstand ein frappantes Seitenstück in einer Goldplaque aus Sibirien hat, die nun in der Eremitage in Leningrad aufbewahrt wird. Leider wagte Reinecke nicht, die volle Konsequenz zu ziehen und diesem Gegenstande einen chinesischen Ursprung zuzuerkennen. Im Gegenteil hält er es für unzweifelhaft, dass er aus Sibirien her stammt, und spricht sogar die Vermutung aus, er sei während des 18. Jahrhunderts in Sibirien angetroffen worden und auf Umwegen nach China gekommen. Bei der Kenntnis, die wir jetzt besitzen, brauchen wir keinen Zweifel daran zu hegen, dass der von den *Brüdern Feng* abgebildete Gegenstand zu der Gruppe der Suiyuan-Bronzen gehört und somit aus den Grenzgebieten zwischen Nordchina und der südlichen Mongolei her stammt. Ganz ähnliche Tierplatten sind in späterer Zeit in eben diesem Gebiet gefunden worden.¹⁾

Während der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte ist es völlig klar geworden, dass Bronzen von skythisch-sibirischem Typus in nicht geringer Menge unter den Kleinbronzen vorkommen, die in Peking feilgehalten werden. In Arbeiten von *Rostovtzeff* sowie in amerikanischen und deutschen Zeitschriften und Katalogen sind hier und da derartige Gegenstände während der letzten Jahre abgebildet worden, bisher ist aber niemand in der Lage gewesen, einen ausführlichen monographischen Bericht über diese Fundgruppe vorzulegen. Abgesehen von einem angeblichen Grabfund aus Yulinfu im nördlichen Teil der chinesischen Provinz Shensi, welcher Fund dem Metropolitan Museum in New York gehört, hat man bisher so gut wie nichts von der Herkunft dieser sogenannten skythischen Kleinbronzen gewusst.²⁾

In den Ostasiatischen Sammlungen in Stockholm besitzen wir eine grosse Anzahl Gegenstände von diesem Typus, und wir sind in der glücklichen Lage, genauere Lokalangaben für einen grossen Teil der Funde liefern zu können. So haben wir zwei geschlossene Grabfunde, der eine aus dem Luan Ping-Bezirk unweit Jehol, nordöstlich von Peking, der andere aus dem Hsuan Hua-Bezirk unweit Kalgan. Diese beiden Grabfunde, die demnächst Dr. *T. J. Arne* eingehend beschreiben wird,

¹⁾ Wahrscheinlich ist das Original des Bildes in *Chin-Shih-So*, Bd. 4, Fol. 27 jetzt im Britischen Museum zu finden, wohin es 1916 als Geschenk von Louis C. G. Clarke gelangte.

Vgl. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*. 1926, Taf. XXIV, Fig. 191.

²⁾ Bosch Reitz, S. C. *A Chinese Tomb Find*. Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York. June 1918. Vol. XIII, No. 6.

Hierbei ist zu beachten, dass die Homogenität dieses „Fundes“ nicht ausser Frage steht. Professor Pelliot hat mir, als ich mit ihm in Paris im Februar 1929 zusammentraf, mitgeteilt, dass er gar nicht von der Zuverlässigkeit der Lokalangaben überzeugt sei. Ich wendete mich an den berühmten Kunsthändler C. T. Loo, der die Gegenstände an das Metropolitan Museum verkauft hatte. Herr Loo hat mir mitgeteilt, dass er zwar die Lokalangaben, die in dem Artikel des Herrn Bosch Reitz erwähnt sind, in China erhalten habe, nicht aber wage, sich für die Richtigkeit dieser Angaben zu verbürgen.

Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass die Gegenstände dem Typus nach sehr heterogen sind.

enthalten ungefähr dieselben Arten von Gegenständen, Dolche und Messer von sibirischem Typus, Düllenäxte, Pfeilspitzen sowie eine grosse Menge Knöpfe und kleine Hängezierate, die entweder zur Kleidung des Toten gehört oder das Pferdegeschirr geschmückt haben. Von besonderem Interesse sind liegende Tierbilder, teils ein grosser „Tiger“, teils mehrere kleine pferdeähnliche Figuren.

Aus der Gegend von Hallong Osso in der südlichen Mongolei haben wir gleichfalls einige Kleinbronzen von diesem Typus erworben, darunter eine schöne und interessante durchbrochene rechteckige Plaque (Taf. I, Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Bronzedolch von chinesischem Typus; der Griff mit vier Wildeselköpfen vom Typus der Suiyuanbronzen. (Aus der Sammlung des Herrn A. Hellström, Mölndal, Göteborg.)

Aus dem nördlichen Shansi, besonders aus Suiyuan und Tatung, haben wir eine Anzahl dieser interessanten Kleinbronzen erhalten, die vermutlich in reicher Menge in dem Grenzgebiet zwischen den nördlichen chinesischen Provinzen und der inneren Mongolei vorkommen.

Dank unserem berühmten Landsmann *F. A. Larson* sind die Ostasiatischen Sammlungen in Stockholm auch in den Besitz einer grossen Anzahl Kleinbronzen eben dieses Typus aus Ordos gelangt, also aus demjenigen Teil der mongolischen Wüste, der innerhalb der grossen, nach Norden gerichteten Biegung des Gelben Flusses liegt.

An der Hand dieses reichen und mannigfaltigen Materials ist es uns möglich gewesen, andeutungsweise das Verbreitungsgebiet dieser sogenannten skythischen Bronzen zu bestimmen: es ist das Grenzland zwischen Nordchina und der inneren Mongolei innerhalb einer Zone, die sich in ost-westlicher Richtung erstreckt, wenigstens von Jehol bis nach der Ordoswüste hin. Die Gräber, die diese Gegenstände beherbergt haben, lagen teils innerhalb des von der Flusserosion durchschnittenen und nach dem Meere hin dränierten Gebiets, das zu dem eigentlichen China gehört, wie dies der Fall mit den Fundorten bei Jehol und Hsuan Hua ist, teils in der abflusslosen südmongolischen Steppe, wie beispielsweise die Funde um Hallong Osso herum.

Die Kleinbronzen, um die es sich hier handelt, erinnern in hohem Grade an die, welche *Fredrik Martin* und andere Forscher aus dem Minusinskgebiet beschrieben haben. Es sind ungefähr dieselben Messer und Dolche, dieselben Bilder von liegenden Hirschen, Wildeseln und anderen Tierformen, die wir hier wiederfinden (Taf. I). Aber diese südmongolischen Bronzen haben doch ihr Sondergepräge, das in vielen Beziehungen auf die Nähe des grossen und mächtigen chinesischen Kul-

turgebiets hindeutet. Man kann sagen, dass ziemlich viele von diesen Gegenständen mehr oder weniger *sinisiert* sind, und die Frage der Wechselwirkung zwischen der chinesischen Kunst und dem Tierstil der Steppennomaden, wobei Einflüsse sicherlich in beiden Richtungen gegeben und empfangen worden sind, muss Gegenstand einer systematischen Analyse werden, deren Richtlinien es uns unmöglich ist, hier auch nur anzudeuten (Siehe Fig. 1).

Nach dem einstimmigen Urteil mehrerer Forscher, wie *Tallgren* und *Borovka*, gehört die skythische Kunst am Schwarzen Meere, in Sibirien und westlich vom Ural einer Zeitperiode an, die zwischen dem sechsten und zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr. liegt. Annähernd dürfte diese Zeitbestimmung auch für die meisten der ähnlichen Funde aus der südlichen Mongolei zutreffen, wenn wir uns auch nicht dem Gedanken verschliessen können, dass ein Teil der dort gefundenen Gegenstände wesentlich jünger ist.

Die Gegend in der südlichen Mongolei und im nördlichsten China, um die es sich hier handelt, war während der Jahrhunderte gleich vor unserer Zeitrechnung von einem kriegerischen Barbarenvolk bewohnt, das die Chinesen *Hiung Nu* nannten, und das wahrscheinlich Träger der hier beschriebenen Kleinbronzen war.

Damit, dass wir das ungefähre Verbreitungsgebiet dieser nordchinesisch-süd-mongolischen Bronzen festgestellt haben, ist für uns auch eine Tatsache in ein helleres Licht gerückt, die mehrere Kunstforscher bereits geahnt haben, dass nämlich in der genannten Gegend ein grosses und reiches Gebiet der sogenannten „skythischen“ Gegenstände liegt. Dies gibt uns Anlass, uns der Meinung anzuschliessen, die zuletzt von *Hubert Schmidt* ausgesprochen worden ist, nämlich dass der Ausdruck *skythisch* nicht länger in der weiten und vagen Bedeutung verwendet werden kann, die man in den letzten Jahren, wo Bronzen aus Nordchina in reichlicher Fülle uns zugeflossen sind, diesem Worte gegeben hat. Ich teile durchaus die Ansicht des genannten Forschers, dass man einen weiten zusammenfassenden Ausdruck für die ganze Region prägen muss, innerhalb welcher man die Gegenstände gefunden hat, die bisher unter dem Sammelnamen „skythisch“ gegangen sind.

Die wichtigste Fundregion für diesen Typus von Altertümern ist das Land nördlich vom Schwarzen Meer, das während des sechsten bis zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. die Heimat der Skythen war, die in lebhafter Verbindung mit der griechischen Kultur und Kunst standen. Um von dem so viel missbrauchten Ausdruck *skythisch* hinwegzukommen, wäre es vielleicht am zweckmässigsten, dies Gebiet die *Euxine-Provinz* zu nennen.¹⁾

Eine zweite, ungeheuer fundreiche Provinz tritt uns in der Grenzregion zwischen Südsibirien und der Mongolei, nämlich in dem Altaigebiet und der Gegend von

¹⁾ Ursprünglich hatte ich vorgeschlagen, diese Provinz die pontische zu nennen, aber als ich im Februar 1929 Gelegenheit hatte, diese Nomenklaturfrage mit dem berühmten Kenner der alten Skythia Herrn Professor Ellis H. Minns in Cambridge zu besprechen, gab er seiner Meinung dahin Ausdruck, dass die Benennung *Euxine-Provinz* vorzuziehen wäre.

Minusinsk entgegen. Von hier stammen wohl ein grosser Teil der Schätze, die sich in der Ermitage finden, und die reiche Fülle von Bronzesachen im Minusinsker Museum, die von *Fr. Martin* abgebildet worden sind. Wir dürften zweckmässigerweise dieses Gebiet die *Minusinsk-Provinz* nennen können.

Ein Fundgebiet, das geographisch in gewisser Weise die beiden ebengenannten verbindet, liegt westwärts vom Ural, um den Fluss Kama herum. Das Material aus dieser Gegend erscheint relativ dürftig neben den reichen Schätzen aus der Euxine- und der Minusinsk-Provinz, aber das Kamagebiet hat grosse Bedeutung durch *Tallgren's* ausgezeichnete Bearbeitung erhalten. Nach dem reichsten Fundorte wäre hier passenderweise von der *Ananino-Provinz* zu sprechen.

Es ist wohl wahrscheinlich, dass zu diesen drei Provinzen, die nun verhältnismässig isoliert erscheinen, andere hinzukommen werden, und besonders lässt es sich wohl fragen, ob nicht vielleicht das Steppenland zwischen dem Kaspischen Meer und dem Balkaschsee Aufschlüsse über den Ursprung des skythischen Kunststils liefern kann.¹⁾

Jedenfalls haben wir den drei genannten Provinzen noch eine anzureihen, die nunmehr gut geographisch begrenzt und ihrem Fundmaterial nach deutlich charakterisiert ist, nämlich die Provinz, die auf der Grenze zwischen der Mongolei und dem nördlichen China liegt. Für diese Region schlage ich hier den Namen *Suiyuan-Provinz* vor nach dem administrativen Bezirk nördlich von der Provinz Shansi, der diese charakteristischen Kleinbronzen in reicher Fülle gespendet hat. Als eine Konsequenz dieser Benennung schlage ich vor, die Gegenstände selbst *Suiyuan-Bronzen* zu nennen, als einen zusammenfassenden Namen für die ganze südmongolische Gruppe.

Überblicken wir nun auf der Karte (Taf. II, Fig. 1) die Lage dieser vier verwandten Fundprovinzen, so sehen wir, dass sie alle dem grossen eurasischen Steppen- und Wüstengürtel angehören oder (Ananino) daran grenzen. Es erscheint demnach natürlich, für diese grosse Stilgruppe, inbezug auf welche die genannten Gebiete Unterabteilungen sind, die von *Hubert Schmidt* vorgeschlagene Bezeichnung *der eurasische Tierstil* zu gebrauchen.

Nachdem nun die Frage der Terminologie in erwünschter Weise geklärt ist, wird es uns möglich, gewisse charakteristische Züge dieser Steppen- und Wüstenregion zu erfassen, die während des späteren Teils des ersten vorchristlichen

¹⁾ Als ich im Februar 1929 in Berlin mit Herrn Dr. G. Borovka zusammentraf, sprach er als seine Meinung aus, dass es in Übereinstimmung mit den Untersuchungen von Merhart (Bronzezeit am Jenissei 1926) richtig sein dürfte, auch eine Krasnojarsk-Provinz zu unterscheiden.

Als Herr Professor M. Rostovtzeff im September 1929 den Ostasiatischen Sammlungen in Stockholm einen Besuch abstattete, hatte ich Gelegenheit, mit diesem berühmten Kenner des skythischen Kunststils die geographische Terminologie zu besprechen. Er hob hervor, dass mit Recht eine Altai-Provinz wie auch eine westsibirische Tobolsk-Provinz unterschieden werden könnten.

Die Vorschläge meiner beiden berühmten Kollegen habe ich zwar nicht in meine Karte aufgenommen, es beruht das aber nur darauf, dass ich nicht über die nötigen Detailkenntnisse verfüge, um die drei Provinzen zu charakterisieren.

Jahrtausends die Heimat des eurasischen Tierstils war. Wir bemerken, dass die vier Provinzen sich so verteilen, dass zwei, Ananino und Minusinsk, im nördlichen Teile und die beiden anderen, Euxine und Suiyuan, am Südrande der Steppenregion liegen. Hieraus folgen gewisse Charakterzüge der nördlichen Gruppe gegenüber der südlichen.

Ananino und Minusinsk grenzten nordwärts an das Waldland, an die Taiga. Diese Provinzen hatten somit keinen Kulturkontakt ausserhalb der Steppenregion, und uns tritt hier deshalb der Tierstil der Steppe ziemlich einheitlich entgegen, mit einer charakteristischen provinziellen Ausbildung in jedem der beiden Fälle.

Ganz anders verhält es sich mit den zwei südlichen Provinzen.

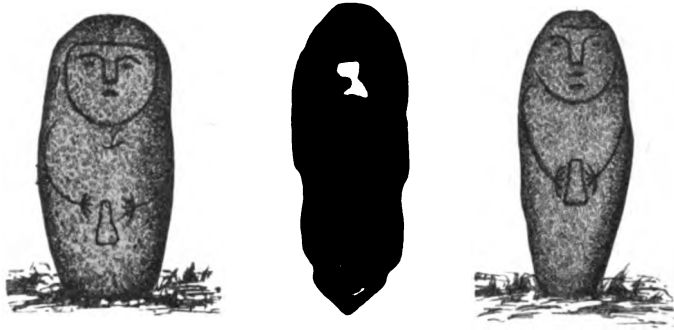


Fig. 2. In der Mitte bronzenes Miniaturbaba, wahrscheinlich aus dem Ordosgebiete. Zu beiden Seiten Steinbabas aus dem Talas-Tale im russischen Turkestan (nach Heikel).

Die Situation der Euxine-Provinz ist vortrefflich von *Minns* und *Rostovtzeff* klargestellt worden. Hier mischte sich das skythische Element mit dem Kunsteinfluss, den die griechischen Kolonien ausübten, und in den skythischen Fürstengräbern finden wir neben Metallgegenständen des eurasischen Tierstils auch Kunstschätze rein griechischen Gepräges.

Etwas Ähnlichem begegnen wir in der Suiyuan-Provinz. Auch hier kamen die Steppennomaden in direkten Kontakt mit einer höheren Kultur, der chinesischen, und auch hier kam es zu komplizierten Mischungserscheinungen (Fig. 1), teils so, dass echte Steppengegenstände zusammen mit rein chinesischen Typen angetroffen werden, teils in der Weise, dass die Tiere des Steppenstils sinische Formen, in gewissen Fällen fast bis zur Unkenntlichkeit, annehmen.

Viele interessante geographische Probleme treten uns bei diesem Studium entgegen. Wir haben bereits gesehen, dass die Suiyuanbronzen ihre nächsten Entsprechungen in Minusinsk haben. Es herrscht somit wohl kein Zweifel darüber, dass Verkehrswege durch die Wüste Gobi während der Jahrhunderte vor dem Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung wie in unserer Zeit gegangen sind, klar ist es aber, dass die Nomadenvölker, von denen diese Gegenstände herkommen, hauptsächlich an dem Nord- und dem Südrande der mongolischen Wüste lebten. Dies ist auch ganz natürlich, denn nur in diesen Randgebieten finden wir reiche

Grassteppen, die dem Grosswild und den Viehherden, die stets die Voraussetzung für die Existenz der Nomaden gebildet haben, Nahrung gewährten. Wir dürfen uns wohl die Ausbreitung des Tierstils ungefähr so vorstellen, dass er nach der mongolischen Wüste über die jetzige Dsungarei hin vordrang, und dass er sich hier in zwei Zweige teilte, der eine nordostwärts gerichtet nach dem Altai, Urianhai und Minusinsk hin, während der andere nach Südosten gerichtet war und Ordos und Suiyuan erreichte.

Menschendarstellungen sind unter den Suiyuanbronzen ebenso selten, wie Tierbilder in überreichlicher Anzahl vorhanden sind. Wir kennen aber doch einige wenige solche Menschendarstellungen, ein Paar Figuren, die den permischen



Fig. 3. Dünnes, vergoldetes Bronzeblech in durchbrochener Arbeit. Fabeltier mit 12 Hälsen mit Menschenköpfen.

Bronzefiguren einigermaßen ähneln, welche *Tallgren* eingehend studiert hat, ein Menschenkopf an einem typischen Suiyuanmesser (in Metropolitan Museum, New York) und eine eigenartige kleine Vollfigur, nur 41 mm lang (Fig. 2). Diese letztere ist von höchstem Interesse, da sie auffallend den sogenannten Baba-Skulpturen ähnelt, freistehenden Menschendarstellungen in Stein, oft in mehr als natürlicher Grösse, die vereinzelt oder in kleinen Gruppen hier und da in den eurasischen Steppen stehen, vom Schwarzen Meer bis zur Südmongolei hin (Taf. II, Fig. 2), wo ich selbst Gelegenheit gehabt habe, einige der Art zu photographieren. Kennzeichnend für diese Babastatuen ist vor allem, dass die Hände einen zylinderförmigen Gegenstand über der Gürtelgegend halten, und dieser Zug ist schön ausgebildet sowohl an unserem bronzenen Miniaturbaba wie an den zwei Steinbabas von dem Tale des Talas im russischen Turkestan, die wir hier nach *Heikel* wiedergeben.¹⁾

Die Babas sind in gewissem Sinne ein ungeklärtes Problem. Wenn sie auch, wie *Merhart* angenommen hat, mit der Endphase des Tierstils der Minusinsk-Provinz

¹⁾ Altertümer aus dem Tale des Talas in Turkestan. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne. Travaux ethnographiques VII. 1918. Taf. IV. Fig. 4 & 6.

zusammengehören, so dürften sie doch ihrer Hauptmasse nach viel jünger sein. Wilhelm von Rubruk berichtet von seiner Reise im dreizehnten Jahrhundert, dass ein südrussisches Turkvolk, die Comanen, noch zu seiner Zeit Statuen dieser Art zu errichten pflegten.

Eine jüngere Abzweigung des eurasischen Tierstils finden wir innerhalb des Suiyuangebiets in Form dünner, durchbrochener, vergoldeter Bronzebleche, von denen wir ein sehr interessantes Beispiel in einer rechteckigen Plaque besitzen, ein Fabeltier darstellend, mit zwölf Hälsen, die Menschengesichter tragen (Fig. 3).

Eine noch jüngere Gruppe von Kleinbronzen können wir aus dem Ordosgebiet anführen, nämlich Gegenstände, die auffallend an den in Albanien gefundenen Goldschatz aus der Zeit der Völkerwanderung erinnern, der von *Strzygowski* beschrieben worden ist.¹⁾ Ähnliche Funde sind bereits früher von den japanischen Archäologen in Korea gemacht worden.²⁾

* *

In intinem, aber noch nicht völlig klargestelltem Zusammenhang mit den Suiyuanbronzen steht eine in vielen Beziehungen merkwürdige Fundgruppe im südwestlichen Teile der Gobiwüste, nördlich von der Provinz Kansu.

Während der Jahre 1923—24 fand ich unter Beihilfe meines Sammlers Pai eine Strecke in die Wüste hinein, ganz nahe der Chen Fan-Oase, eine höchst eigentümliche Keramik, ausgezeichnet durch eine Menge wechselnder Formen und durch Bemalung in Rot in geometrischen Mustern mit eingelegten Borten von stehenden Vögeln, die recht sehr an die Vogelfriesen auf den Graburnen aus der ältesten Kulturepoche bei Susa in Persien erinnern.

Zusammen mit diesen Graburnen kommen bei Sha Ching, dem Typenlokal für die Funde bei der Chen Fan-Oase, verschiedene Gegenstände aus Stein und Knochen vor, darunter die typischen rechteckigen Messer, aber auch kleine Gegenstände aus Bronze, hauptsächlich Knöpfe und Zierate für das Gewand des Toten.

In dem vorläufigen Bericht über meine Funde in Kansu, den ich 1925 in den *Memoiren der Geologischen Landesanstalt Chinas* veröffentlichte, habe ich auch diese jüngste von mir gefundene Kultur in Kansu als in rein vorgeschichtliche Zeit fallend oder, genauer bestimmt, einer Zeit nicht später als 1700 v. Chr. angehörend gedeutet.

Bei der näheren vergleichenden Untersuchung des ganzen von mir heimgebrachten Fundmaterials habe ich indessen gefunden, dass gewisse der bei Sha Ching angetroffenen Kleinbronzen ganz identisch mit Funden sind, die der Suiyuangruppe angehören, teils Stücken des vorhererwähnten Grabfundes aus dem Luan Ping-Bezirk, teils Funden aus der Ordoswüste. Nunmehr steht es also ausser allem

¹⁾ Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung. 1917. Taf. V.

²⁾ K. Hamada & S. Umehara. The Gold Crown Tomb at Keishu and its treasures. 1924. Text Part I. Fig. 31—33.

Zweifel, dass die Gräber bei Sha Ching mehr als ein Jahrtausend jünger sind, als wie ich es in meinem vorläufigen Bericht von 1925 annahm, und dass sie wahrscheinlich in die Zeit 600—100 v. Chr. fallen. Die vollständige Übereinstimmung zwischen gewissen Kleinbronzen der Suiyuangruppe und solchen bei Sha Ching gefundenen scheint anzudeuten, dass die letztgenannten Funde ganz einfach der Suiyuan-Provinz zugezählt werden müssen. Indessen ist das Vorkommen einer in geometrischem Stil bemalten Keramik eine Erscheinung, die nach unserer bisherigen Kenntnis dem eurasischen Tierstil so vollständig fremd ist, dass ich es für das zweckmässigste halte, bis auf weiteres Sha Ching als einen Typus für sich abseitszustellen. Sollte es sich zeigen, dass man weiter ostwärts, beispielsweise in der Ordoswüste oder in der Gegend von Suiyuan, die geometrisch bemalte Keramik der Sha Ching-Gräber zusammen mit Tierbronzen von echtem Suiyuantypus findet, so wird es angebracht sein zu erwägen, ob man die später aufgestellte, aber mehr auf das Zentralgebiet gehende Bezeichnung Suiyuan zu gunsten des früheren Namens Sha Ching aufgeben muss.

* *

Bis zum Jahre 1921 wusste man fast nichts von der Vorgeschichte Chinas vor 1000 v. Chr., welches das Alter ist, das die letzten Forscher auf diesem Gebiete, wie beispielsweise *Maspero* in seiner *La Chine Antique*, für die inskribierten Knochen und Schnitzereien von An Yang angeben.

Die Steingeräte aus Shantung, die von *Laufer* in seiner gelehrten Arbeit *Jade* abgebildet und beschrieben wurden, waren allzu gering an Zahl, um ein Bild von dem vorgeschichtlichen China zu gewähren, und die zahlreichen Funde von steinzeitlichem Typus, die 1914 und 1915 von *Torii* aus der östlichen Mongolei und der südlichen Mandschurei beschrieben wurden, deutete dieser Forscher als von Barbarenvölkern herrührend, die noch in früher geschichtlicher Zeit ein steinzeitliches Dasein im Randbezirk des chinesischen Imperiums führten.¹⁾

Im Spätherbst 1920 brachte einer meiner chinesischen Sammler, Liu, der nach Honan gesandt worden war, um meine Einsammlungen von tertiären Säugetieren fortzusetzen, eine Sammlung von mehreren hundert Äxten, Messern und anderen Gegenständen aus Stein mit, mehrere darunter ausserordentlich schön und gut erhalten. Die Sammlung war um so bemerkenswerter, als Liu berichtete, er habe alle diese Steingeräte von den Einwohnern eines einzigen Dorfes, Yang Shao Tsun, gekauft, wo die Bauern die von uns ersehnten Gegenstände in ihren Äckern angetroffen und gesammelt hätten.

Dieser Umstand, dass eine so grosse Menge Steingeräte an einem einzigen Punkte angetroffen worden waren, deutete an, dass hier ein reicher Wohnplatz aus der

¹⁾ R. Torii and K. Torii. Populations primitives de la Mongolie Orientale. Journal of the College of Science. Tokyo Imperial University. Vol. XXXVI, Art. 4, 1914.

R. Torii. Populations préhistoriques de la Manchourie Méridionale. Ibid. XXXVI, Art. 8. 1915.

Steinzeit her vorlag, und bei der eingehenden Untersuchung, die ich im Jahre darauf, 1921, bei Yang Shao Tsun ausführte, erhielt ich Gelegenheit, aus der Nähe diesen Fundplatz kennenzulernen, der sich als von ungewöhnlichen Dimensionen erwies.

Das Fundgebiet bei Yang Shao Tsun hat eine Ausdehnung in nordsüdlicher Richtung von mehr als 600 Meter und eine Breite in ostwestlicher Richtung von etwa 500 Meter. Die Mächtigkeit der Kulturschicht wechselt zwischen 1 und 5 Meter mit einem Durchschnitt von etwa drei Meter, was besagt, dass wir es hier mit dem grössten der bekannten steinzeitlichen Wohnplätze in China und einem der grössten Fundplätze der Erde von vorgeschichtlichem Typus zu tun haben.¹⁾

Die Topographie des Yang Shao-Wohnplatzes ist vor allem charakterisiert durch die 40—50 Meter tiefen Ravinen, die das Fundgebiet umgeben und auch fingerförmig in dasselbe hineinragen. Von sehr grossem archäologischem Interesse ist es, dass diese Ravinen, die nicht nur in die gelbe Lösserde, sondern auch in den darunterliegenden roten Tertiärton eingeschnitten sind, jünger sind als das neolithische Dorf, das offenbar auf einer zusammenhängenden und nur sehr schwach undulierenden Plateaufläche gelegen hat.

Der Kulturboden besteht aus Löss oder tertiärem Ton, vermengt mit Holzkohlenstücken und Asche mit eingemischten Topfscherben und Geräten aus Stein und Knochen.

Unter den Steinwerkzeugen finden sich, ausser geschliffenen Grünsteinäxten von gewöhnlichem Typus, asymmetrische und etwas geschwungene Queräxte von dem Typus, den die Chinesen noch heute gebrauchen, aus Eisen hergestellt und *pen* genannt. Ferner findet man zahlreiche rechteckige Steinmesser, die gleichfalls bis in die Gegenwart fortleben in Form der rechteckigen eisernen Messer, wie sie in Nordchina in allgemeinem Gebrauch sind.

Das keramische Fundmaterial bildet den bei weitem interessantesten Teil der Hinterlassenschaft der Yang Shao-Zeit.

Einige Worte zunächst über die groben und unbemalten Gefässe aus einem im allgemeinen grauen oder graubraunen Gut. Unter diesen finden wir besonders zwei Typen, die von der Bronzekunst der frühen chinesischen Dynastien her wohl bekannt sind, nämlich den Dreifuss Ting, der ganz einfach eine halbkugelförmige Schale mit drei, ziemlich hohen, soliden Füßen ist, sowie den Dreifuss Li, der ein weit merkwürdigerer Typus mit weiten, hohlen Füßen ist, ein Dreifuss, der eigentlich drei spitzbodige Gefässe darstellt, die durch einen gemeinsamen Kragen zusammengehalten werden.

Das gesamte Fundmaterial, das wir bisher geschildert haben, die asymmetrischen Steinäxte vom *pen*-Typus, die rechteckigen Steinmesser sowie die zwei Dreifusstypen, alles sind protochinesische Formen, welche andeuten, dass die spätneolithische oder vielleicht richtiger *äneolithische* Yang Shao-Kultur die Wurzel des archaischen Chinas der ersten Dynastien bildet. Die Yang Shao-

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson. An Early Chinese Culture. Geol. Survey of China. Bull. N:o 5. 1923.

Kultur bietet uns indessen das Rätsel eines eigentümlichen Dualismus. Sie tritt uns sozusagen mit zwei Antlitzen entgegen, einem chinesischen, das ich bereits beschrieben habe, und einem abendländischen, das die Gedanken nach dem süd-östlichen Europa und dem nahen Orient hinlenkt.

Ich denke in diesem Falle an die dünnwandige Keramik aus einem ausserordentlich feinen Gut und mit einer ungewöhnlich vollendeten Politur sowie mit Bemalung in Schwarz, bisweilen auch in Rot und Weiss, die bei Yang Shao Tsun zusammen mit der groben unbemalten Keramik von protochinesischem Typus angetroffen wird. Es waren die englischen Archäologen unter Leitung von Mr. R. L. Hobson, die mir zuerst halfen, die auffallende Ähnlichkeit zwischen diesen bemalten Gefässscherben von Honan und der bemalten Keramik von Anau im russischen Turkestan, Susa in Persien, Tripolje in Südrussland sowie aus Thessalien nachzuweisen. Wir sind zwar noch weit entfernt von einem vollständigen Verständnis dieser merkwürdigen Ähnlichkeit zwischen der bemalten Keramik der æneolithischen Zeit in Osteuropa einerseits und der in Nordchina andererseits. Aber die Übereinstimmung ist doch in mehreren Hinsichten so schlagend, dass wir die Möglichkeit eines Kulturaustausches quer über Zentralasien vor etwa 5000 Jahren, d. h. mit anderen Worten zur Zeit des Überganges von der jüngsten Steinzeit zum beginnenden Gebrauch von Kupfer, in Erwägung ziehen müssen.

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Im Frühling 1923 zog ich hinauf nach der nordwestlichen Ecke des eigentlichen China, der Provinz Kansu, und den angrenzenden Teilen von Tibet und der Mongolei, in der Hoffnung, dem Zusammenhang zwischen der bemalten Steinzeitkeramik in Honan und den ähnlichen Funden bei Anau im russischen Turkestan und weiter westwärts auf die Spur kommen zu können. Dieser erste Arbeitsommer in Kansu gab so reiche Resultate, dass ich noch ein Jahr dort blieb, und bei der Rückkehr nach Peking im Spätherbst 1924 brachte ich ein gewaltiges Material mit, das wenigstens sechs aufeinanderfolgende Epochen repräsentierte, die drei ältesten dem Ende der Steinzeit, die drei jüngeren den Metallzeiten angehörend.

Die reichsten Funde stammen aus der Gegend um den Taofluss her, der, von Süden herkommend, in den Gelben Fluss einmündet. Der Taofluss entspringt im tibetanischen Hochlande. Aber ungefähr 150 Kilometer oberhalb der Mündung in den Gelben Fluss stürzt sich der Taofluss durch ein cañonartiges Tal hinab zu einem in etwa 2500 Meter Höhe über dem Meere gelegenen Plateauland, aufgebaut aus lockeren tertiären Tonen, in welche der Fluss ein Tal von einigen Kilometer Breite und etwa 400 Meter Tiefe eingeschnitten hat. Dieser untere Teil des Laufes des Taoflusses ist eine der fruchtbarsten Landschaften, die ich in China gesehen habe. Trotz der Höhe über dem Meere, etwa 2100 Meter, werden hier Pfirsiche und Aprikosen von ungewöhnlicher Grösse und erlesener Qualität

gezogen. Der ganze Talboden ist durch Kanäle bewässert, die von dem Flusse gespeist werden, und die mit Weizen oder Opiummohn bestellten Felder sind wie Gärten gepflegt.

Es ist nicht schwer zu verstehen, dass dieses schöne Tal einen starken Lockreiz schon auf den vorgeschichtlichen Menschen ausgeübt haben muss. Wahrscheinlich war wohl während der Steinzeit die Talsohle dicht bewachsen mit buschigem Wald, durch den der Fluss sich dahinschlängelte. Diese Uferwälder wimmelten von allerlei Wild, und in dem Masse, wie Anbaulichtungen in dem Walde angelegt wurden, bot der fruchtbare Boden reiche Gelegenheiten für den primitiven Ackerbau des steinzeitlichen Menschen.

Die Talsohle des Taoflusses wird auf beiden Seiten begrenzt von steilen Terrassenabhängen mit einer Höhe von 20—50 Meter. Diese Terrassenabhänge, besonders die Stellen, wo die Erosion Lappen oder Inseln von der Terrassenoberfläche zurückgelassen hatte, waren es, wo das vorgeschichtliche Volk mit Vorliebe seine Dörfer anlegte. Ein doppelter Anlass bedingte wohl diese Wahl von Wohnplätzen. Einerseits war die waldbestandene Talsohle sumpfig und von wilden Tieren erfüllt, andererseits waren die Terrasseninseln ringsherum von Erosionsabhängen umgeben, die natürliche Befestigungen für die vorgeschichtlichen Dörfer bildeten.

Auf dem Terrassenrand des Taotals liegen die alten Wohnplätze und die Gräberfelder in gewissen Gebieten so dicht gehäuft, dass Fundplätze verschiedenen Alters aneinander grenzen oder direkt einander überlagern. Es herrscht kaum ein Zweifel darüber, dass wir hier ein Fundgebiet haben, das in bezug auf vorgeschichtliche Kulturschichten mit den reichsten Fundregionen im näheren Orient wetteifern kann.

Es ist unmöglich, hier auch nur eine Andeutung von der Mannigfaltigkeit der Funde zu geben, die wir machten, und die zwei Jahrtausende, ungefähr die Zeit von 3500 bis 1500 v. Chr., überspannen. Es mag genügen, rasch die reichste Fundgruppe zu skizzieren, die einen reinen steinzeitlichen Typus aufweist und zeitlich ungefähr der Yang Shao-Kultur in Honan entspricht.

Der reichste Wohnplatz des Taoflusses aus dieser Zeit heisst Ma Chia Yao. Ausser den gewöhnlichen Geräten aus Stein und Knochen: Äxten, Messern, Pfriemen, Nadeln usw., fanden wir hier eine unerhört reiche Keramik, grossenteils aus dem feinen bemalten Gut. Die Formen sind sehr verschiedenartig, kleine Schalen und grosse Schüsseln und ferner sehr hohe Urnen mit schmalem und hohem Hals. Die Bemalung besteht aus freien, verhältnismässig einfachen Wellenlinien und Punkten. Ausschliesslich schwarze Farbe ist zur Verwendung gekommen, ein Umstand von grosser Bedeutung, auf den wir noch im folgenden zurückkommen werden.

Wir waren so glücklich, auch eine Gruppe von Gräberfeldern zu finden, die uns die Formen kennen lehrten, unter welchen das Ma Chia Yao-Volk seine Toten begrub. Diese vier Gräberfelder, die ich zusammen das Pan Shan-Gebiet nenne, liegen seitwärts von dem Taotale und hoch über demselben auf den

höchsten Hügeln des Plateaulandes, in welchem der Fluss sein Tal eingeschnitten hat. Die Anhöhen, auf denen die Gräberfelder liegen, erheben sich volle 400 Meter über das Flussniveau und die Wohnplätze, und man hat von ihnen aus eine freie und grossartige Aussicht im Norden und Osten über das hügelige Tertiärland, während im Südwesten das tibetanische Hochland sich steil wie eine dunkle Hochgebirgsmauer erhebt. Es muss ein naturliebendes und männliches Geschlecht gewesen sein, das sich der Mühe unterzog, seine Toten meilenweit auf geschlängelten Gebirgspfaden nach diesen von Sonnenschein und Winden umwogten Höhen hinzubringen, und wir können uns wohl vorstellen, dass die Begräbniszüge unter streng vorgeschriebenen Zeremonien dahinschritten, die wir wohl ahnen können, wahrscheinlich aber nie genauer kennen lernen werden.

Jedenfalls enthalten die Pan Shan-Gräber sehr reiche und prachtvolle Beigaben, die uns eine recht eingehende Kenntnis von der Bestattungsweise vermitteln. Steinäxte von mehreren Typen sowie dekorierte und oft schlecht geschnittene Jaderinge von dem Typus, den die Chinesen Yuan nennen, ferner einen halbmondförmigen Brustschmuck aus Stein können wir zunächst anführen.

Die Keramik in diesen Gräbern ist die prachtvollste, die wir während unserer ganzen Arbeit in China gefunden haben, und sie dürfte von der steinzeitlichen Keramik keines anderen Landes übertroffen werden. Die Formen sind wenig abwechselnd; Urnen von etwas zusammengedrückter Kugelform, entweder mit weiter und niedriger oder mit hoher und enger Mündung. Der gemalte Dekor ist dagegen in hohem Grade mannigfaltig und ausdrucksvoll. Die Bemalung ist in diesem Falle in zwei Farben ausgeführt, nämlich teils in demselben Schwarz wie auf der Wohnplatzkeramik bei Ma Chia Yao, ausserdem aber in einem Violett-Rotbraun, das den Wohnplatzfunden ganz fremd ist und den Eindruck einer ausschliesslich für den Grabkult reservierten Farbe macht.

Horizontale konzentrische Streifen, abwechselnd in Schwarz und in Rot, bilden die einfachste Form der Verzierung. In der nächsten Gruppe finden wir diese Streifen in Zickzackform zusammengeschoben, und im Laufe der Entwicklung geht diese Faltung weiter, bis sie schliesslich vier gewaltige Spiralen bildet, die die ganze obere Hälfte des Gefässes ausfüllen. Andere Gefässe sind mit vier Gruppen von flaschen- oder vielleicht richtiger kürbisförmigen Figuren verziert. Wiederum andere zeigen vertikale, mit Schachbrettmuster angefüllte Felder.

Um die Bedeutung dieser Verzierung zu verstehen, müssen wir ein Element beachten, das auf allen Graburnen wiederkehrt, und das von mir *das Totenmuster* genannt worden ist, da es überall auf den Graburnen auftritt im Gegensatz zu der Wohnplatzkeramik, bei der dieses Muster ganz unbekannt ist. Das Totenmuster besteht aus einem roten Streifen, auf beiden Seiten umgeben von schwarzen Streifen oder Feldern, von denen aus dichte Reihen von schwarzen Zacken nach dem roten Zentralstreifen hin sich erstrecken, der von diesen Zackenreihen eben berührt wird.

Dieses dekorative Element kehrt, wie gesagt, auf allen Graburnen wieder, grossen wie kleinen, gleichgültig in welchem Muster die Bemalung ausgeführt worden ist. Sowohl an den horizontalen konzentrischen Streifen, den Spiralen und den Kürbismustern als auch an den vertikalen Streifen zwischen den Schachbrettfeldern, überall finden wir das Totenmuster wieder. Man muss sich unwillkürlich vorstellen, dass die rote Farbe, die dem lebenden Volke tabu war, gleichwie das ganze Totenmuster, im Dienste des Totenkults gestanden hat, und es liegt da nahe, sich diese zwei Charakterzüge der Grabkeramik als mit magischen Vorstellungen verknüpft zu denken, die ja bei den Grabkulten der primitiven Völker in Überfülle vorhanden sind.

Was nun zunächst die rote Farbe betrifft, so ist es wohlbekannt, dass diese in der Magie der Naturvölker das Blut repräsentiert, das seinerseits aus naheliegenden Gründen als einer der wichtigsten Träger des Lebens betrachtet wurde. Man möchte hieraus schliessen, dass das Volk der Pan Shan-Gräber mit dieser roten Farbe auf den Graburnen denselben Effekt erstrebt habe, der wohl mit dem schon seit der jüngeren paläolithischen Zeit allgemeinen Brauch beabsichtigt wird, Eisenocker über den Toten zu streuen, nämlich ihm auf die Reise in das Totenreich eine kräftig lebenspendende Substanz mitzugeben, die geeignet ist, ihm das Wiedererwachen zum neuen Leben zu erleichtern.

Sind wir so zu diesem Gedankengang von magischen Vorstellungen als der Unterlage für den gemalten Dekor der Grabgefässe geführt worden, so wird es leicht, auch das ganze Totenmuster unter diese Anschauung einzuordnen. Der wesentliche Zug desselben, ausser der bereits gedeuteten roten Farbe, sind die *Zackenreihen*. Nun wissen wir besonders durch Untersuchungen zweier schwedischer Forscher, *Sune Ambrosiani* und *Louise Hagberg*, dass die Zackung in der Volksvorstellung als ein Macht- und Schutzmittel gedient hat, und es erscheint somit plausibel, dass die Zackenreihen hier zur Verwendung gekommen sind, um die günstige Wirkung der blutroten Streifen zu verstärken.

Gehen wir weiter in dem Studium der Verzierung der Pan Shan-Urnen, so wird unsere Aufmerksamkeit besonders erweckt durch Gruppen von einige Zentimeter langen, spitzovalen Figuren mit gleichsam einem Kern in der Mitte. Meine chinesischen Mitarbeiter vergleichen diese Figuren mit der Pfirsichfrucht, die ja ein lebenspendendes Symbol in der modernen chinesischen Volksvorstellung ist, ich bin aber geneigt, dieses Bild auf einen anderen Ursprung zurückzuführen, nämlich die Kaurischnecke, *Cypraea moneta*, von der sowohl echte Schalen als auch Imitationen in den Gräbern der Yang Shao-Zeit in Kansu wie auch in Honan vorkommen. Durch Untersuchungen von *J. Wilfrid Jackson* und *G. Elliot Smith* haben wir die einzigdastehende folkloristische Bedeutung dieser kleinen Meeres-schnecke kennengelernt: ein Symbol der weiblichen Fruchtbarkeit, dessen segensbringende Einwirkung sich auf eine Menge von Lebensfunktionen verzweigt hat, und das dann, wie es für die Volksmagie charakteristisch ist, in den Grabkult übergegangen ist als eine Beigabe für den Toten auf die dunkle und schwierige

Reise jenseits des Todes. Wir sehen also, dass die Kaurischnecke uns noch einen dritten Fall von dieser Wiederauferstehungsmagie liefert, von welcher die roten Streifen und die Zackenreihen zu uns sprechen.

Möglich ist, dass fortgesetzte folkloristische Forschungen zu einer magischen Deutung auch der übrigbleibenden Muster der Pan Shan-Keramik führen werden.

Fassen wir die hier gegebene Darstellung zusammen, so werden wir finden, dass die rote Farbe auf den Pan Shan-Urnen, gleichwie die Zackenreihen und die Kaurimuster (falls sie wirklich diese Schnecke darstellen) mit an Gewissheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit als lebenspendende Symbole gedeutet werden dürfen, wahrscheinlich dazu bestimmt, den Eingang des Toten in ein neues Leben zu erleichtern. Es ist ferner wahrscheinlich, dass die Spiralen auf dieselbe Weise gedeutet werden dürfen, und es ist möglich, dass auch die Kürbisbilder und die Schachbrettmuster unter dieselbe Kategorie fallen.

Wenn auch der Schleier vorerst nur teilweise von dem folkloristischen Rätsel gehoben worden ist, mit dem diese Graburnen uns in Berührung gebracht haben, so können wir doch mit einem recht hohen Grade von Wahrscheinlichkeit die Vermutung wagen, dass die Verzierung dieser Graburnen sozusagen ein Orchester bildet, das, mit einem Ensemble von weit verschiedenen Instrumenten, eine Wiederauferstehungssymphonie spielt. Diese Annahme erhält in hohem Grade eine Stütze durch die Tatsache, dass wir auf dem Pan Shan-Felde Gelegenheit hatten, ein sehr reich ausgestattetes Grab auszugraben, das, ausser zwei Steinäxten und zwei Schleifsteinen, nicht weniger als zwölf Urnen enthielt, vier aus dem groben, unbemalten Gut und acht in verschiedenen Mustern bemalt. Das Bedeutungsvolle an diesem Grabfunde ist, dass wir hier alle die eben beschriebenen Mustertypen in einem einzigen Grabe beisammen finden.

Die Deutung der Pan Shan-Keramik als voll von magischen Motiven im Dienste des Totenkults kann möglicherweise eine weitgehende Bedeutung für die Erforschung der Kulturaustausche zwischen Osteuropa und Ostasien über den Steppen- und Wüstengürtel des inneren Asiens hin erhalten. Im vorigen Sommer (1928) hatte ich die Freude, in den Ostasiatischen Sammlungen den Besuch von Professor *Bogajevsky* aus Leningrad zu empfangen, der eine Menge Abbildungen von der Tripoljekeramik der südrussischen Steinkupferzeit mitbrachte, um diese bemalte Keramik mit unseren Funden aus China zu vergleichen. Im Laufe des Gesprächs lenkte ich seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Ähnlichkeit zwischen gewissen Figuren auf den Tripoljescherben und den Kauriabbildungen auf einigen Scherben aus Honan, und er umfasste sofort mit Interesse meinen Gedanken, dass auch die Tripoljefiguren eine Darstellung der Kaurischnecke beabsichtigen.

Als ich ihm dann die Totenmuster auf den Pan Shan-Urnen zeigte, bemerkte er, dass dasselbe Muster, wenn auch in etwas einfacherer Form, sich auf der Tripoljekeramik wiederfindet. Ich habe Professor *Bogajevsky's* freundliches Versprechen, dass er in einer eigenen Abhandlung diese Vergleiche weiter ausführen wird.

Als ich im vergangenen Herbst meine Deutung der Verzierung der Pan Shan-Urnen meiner Kollegin Doktor *Hanna Rydh* mitteilte, der ich vielen Dank für Anregung und Anleitung auf dem Gebiet der archäologischen Litteratur schulde, machte sie mich darauf aufmerksam, dass das Totenmuster in der jüngsten Steinzeit Europas weit verbreitet ist, und wir haben aus Doktor *Rydh's* Feder eine eingehende Erörterung dieser äusserst bedeutungsvollen Frage erhalten.

Sollte es sich zeigen, dass das in hohem Grade charakteristische Totenmuster der jüngsten Steinzeit und dem Beginn der Metallzeiten ganz Eurasiens gemeinsam ist, so sind wir wohl gezwungen anzunehmen, dass die gleiche Vorstellung überall innerhalb des ebengenannten gewaltigen Gebiets diesem charakteristischen Zuge im Totenkult zugrunde lag, und unser Studium der Kulturaustausche über Zentralasien hin hat dann eine Vertiefung insofern erfahren, als wir nicht mehr mit Vergleichen zwischen einzelnen Mustern uns beschäftigen, wie es der Fall war, als ich 1923 zum erstenmal die bemalte Yang Shao-Keramik mit der von Tripolje verglich. Mit Hilfe des Totenmusters scheint es uns nun möglich zu werden, in die Diskussion auch die Unterlage von Ideen einzubeziehen, die uns das Verständnis der Muster der steinzeitlichen Gefässe liefert.

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Wir sind nun zeitlich rückwärts durch fünf Jahrtausende geschritten, beginnend mit des jungen Marco Polo Entdeckungsreise quer durch Asien.

Wir haben an die wunderbaren Entdeckungen im chinesischen Turkestan erinnert, die von Hedin 1896 eingeleitet wurden, und die uns mit der Mischung hellenischer, indischer und chinesischer Kunst in dem ersten Jahrtausend unserer Zeitrechnung vertraut gemacht haben.

Wir haben gesehen, wie die Babastatuen in einer zahllosen Reihe über die Steppen- und Wüstenzone ganz Eurasiens hin stehen, und wir haben erkannt, wie den Babas der eurasische Tierstil vorausgegangen ist, dessen geographische Verbreitung fast vollständig mit der der Babas zusammenfällt.

Von den ersten Jahrhunderten vor unserer Zeitrechnung, die bereits Gegenstand der Untersuchungen vieler Forscher, *Reinecke's*, *Rostovtzeff's* und anderer, gewesen sind, haben wir durch meine Funde in Nordchina den Vergleich noch zwei Jahrtausende rückwärts verschieben und Kulturwanderungen über Zentralasien schon zu Ende der Steinzeit auf die Spur kommen können.

Wenn auch die Kulturverbindung zwischen dem Abendlande und dem Osten in gewissen Fällen einen südlicheren Weg über Indien und Südchina hat nehmen können, so herrscht doch kein Zweifel darüber, dass der Kulturaustausch mit Ostasien ganz überwiegend durch den grossen Steppen- und Wüstengürtel des inneren Asiens gegangen ist.

Das Resultat dieser Kulturwanderungen für die materielle Kultur wurde 1919 von *Berthold Laufer* zusammengefasst in seinem gelehrten Werk *Sino-Iranica*,

worin er unter anderem vierundzwanzig Arten von landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugnissen nachweist, deren Kenntnis von China nach Persien und weiter westwärts gebracht wurde, im Austausch gegen eine grosse Anzahl abendländischer Kulturpflanzen, die ostwärts nach China Verbreitung fanden. Unter den ersteren befanden sich der Pfirsich, die Aprikose und der Tee, unter den letzteren die Alfalfa und die Weinrebe.

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Jenseits unserer fünftausendjährigen Wanderung über die Steppen können wir den Gang durch die Zeiten vielleicht noch hunderttausend Jahre fortsetzen, bis weit hinein in die paläolithische Zeit.



Fig. 4. Struthiolithus-Ei aus dem nordchinesischen Löss.

Im Jahre 1873 beschrieb der russische Zoologe *A. Brandt* ein riesengrosses Vogelei, das wahrscheinlich der Familie der Strausse angehörte. Der Fund war viele Jahre vorher in der Nähe der südrussischen Stadt Cherson gemacht worden, weshalb *Brandt* das Ei unter dem Namen *Struthiolithus chersonensis* beschrieb. 1898 berichtete *C. R. Eastman* über den Fund eines Eies von *Struthiolithus chersonensis* aus der Gegend von Kalgan in Nordchina, und 1923 war ich in der Lage, in meinen „Essays on the Cenozoic of Northern China“ über nicht weniger als 18 Funde von *Struthiolithus* aus den nordchinesischen Provinzen Shantung, Chihli, Honan, Shansi und Kansu zu berichten. Gleichzeitig konnte ich auch durch

eigene Ausgrabungen nachweisen, dass *Struthiolithus* in der Lösserde vorkommt, die von mir als der mittleren Quartärzeit angehörig bezeichnet wurde.

Im Sommer 1923 entdeckten Père Teilhard und Père Licent in der Ordoswüste eine quartäre Fauna, assoziiert mit paläolithischen Geräten. Diese glänzende Entdeckung warf ein weiteres Licht auf das Rätsel des vorzeitlichen eurasischen Strausses, indem die französischen Forscher nachwiesen, dass er in der Bodenschicht der Lössformation zusammen mit einem *Elefanten* (*Elephas* cfr. *namadicus*), dem wollhaarigen Nashorn und einer Menge anderer quartärer Säuger auftritt.

Einen weiteren Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Verbreitung des *Struthiolithus* lieferte die grosse Expedition Roy Chapman Andrews', der diese Eierschalen in der nördlichen Mongolei, nicht weit vom Altaigebirge, antraf.

Den Eiern nach zu urteilen, die durchschnittlich siebzehn Millimeter länger sind als die Eier des modernen afrikanischen Strausses, muss *Struthiolithus* ein bedeutend grösserer Vogel gewesen sein als *Struthio camelus*.

Auf Grund der vorliegenden Daten für seine Verbreitung: Südrussland, Nordchina und die Mongolei, sind wir berechtigt, diesen Riesenvogel als einen echten Bewohner des eurasischen Wüstengürtels der mittleren Quartärzeit zu bezeichnen (Taf. III, Fig. 1).

In der Fauna, welche die französischen Patres in der Ordoswüste, zusammen mit Spuren des paläolithischen Menschen, entdeckten, wurden auch einige andere, aus der Quartärzeit Europas wohlbekannte Tierformen angetroffen, nämlich das wollhaarige Nashorn, der Auerochs und die Höhlenhyäne; es sind dies aber nördliche Formen, die kaum der echten Steppenfauna zugezählt werden können.

Dagegen enthalten die Ordossschichten eine Kamelform, *Camelus Knoblochi*, deren Entdeckungsgeschichte Ähnlichkeit mit den Umständen darbietet, unter denen der eurasische Strauss uns zuerst bekannt wurde: wie *Struthiolithus* wurde auch diese Kamelart zuerst aus Südrussland (dem Wolgagebiet) beschrieben und eigenartigerweise von demselben russischen Forscher, Brandt.

In den Funden dieser beiden Tierformen, des *eurasischen Strausses* und des *Camelus Knoblochi*, einerseits in Südrussland, andererseits in China und der Mongolei, wage ich einen Beweis dafür zu erblicken, dass der grosse Steppen- und Wüstenweg schon während der mittleren Quartärzeit den Wanderungen der Tiere offen lag, und es ist wohl denkbar, dass fortgesetzte Forschungen den Nachweis bringen werden, dass der paläolithische Wilde, dessen Spuren in der Ordoswüste angetroffen werden, längs derselben Linie des geringsten Widerstandes vordrang.

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Lassen Sie uns durch die Zeiten ein oder ein paar Millionen Jahre rückwärts schreiten zur tertiären Periode, dem Übergang von der Miozän- zur Pliozänzeit, wo das dreizehige Pferd und seine Gefolgschaft auf den Savannen im südlichen Eurasien umherstreiften, und wir werden einen ähnlichen Steppengürtel finden.

wenn auch, was Asien betrifft, etwas nach Süden hin verschoben. Nach *Osborn* zeige ich hier eine Karte (Taf. III, Fig. 2) über die Ausbreitung der Hipparion-fauna. Schon lange haben die Hauptzüge klar gelegen, markiert durch solche Fundplätz wie Pikermi in Griechenland, Samos an der Küste Kleinasiens, Odessa in Südrussland, Maragha in Persien und Siwaliks im nördlichen Indien. Es war mir und Dr. *Zdansky* sowie *Père Licent* vorbehalten, die ausserordentlich reichen Hipparion-Fundorte im nördlichen China zu entdecken und zu erforschen, unter denen Pao-Te-Chou am Gelben Fluss in Shansi der bedeutendste ist.

Es ist ein unerhörter Reichtum an Pferden und Nashörnern, Elefanten, Hirschen, Antilopen und Giraffen, Raubtieren, Affen und Nagern, den man in den roten Hipparion-Tonen findet. Das Ganze ist in allem Wesentlichen eine Step-penfauna, die zwar im äussersten Osten einige spezielle Sonderzüge besitzt, der Hauptsache nach aber doch dieselbe durch ganz Eurasien ist, vom Atlantischen bis zum Stillen Ozean hin. Ich brauche nur daran zu erinnern, dass eines der Giraf-fentiere aus Nordchina eine lokale Form der vom Mittelmeer zuerst bekannten Gattung *Samotherium* ist, um diesen engen Zusammenhang zu illustrieren.

Wir beenden nun unsere weite Wanderung durch Zeit und Raum und können uns wieder unserer eigenen Zeit zuwenden mit der Gewissheit, dass viele Züge der Tiergeographie und Kulturgeschichte Eurasiens schwerverständlich sein würden, kennten wir nicht diese grosse Heerstrasse der Natur, die Millionen von Jahren hindurch quer über das gewaltigste Festland der Erde hin offen dagelegen hat



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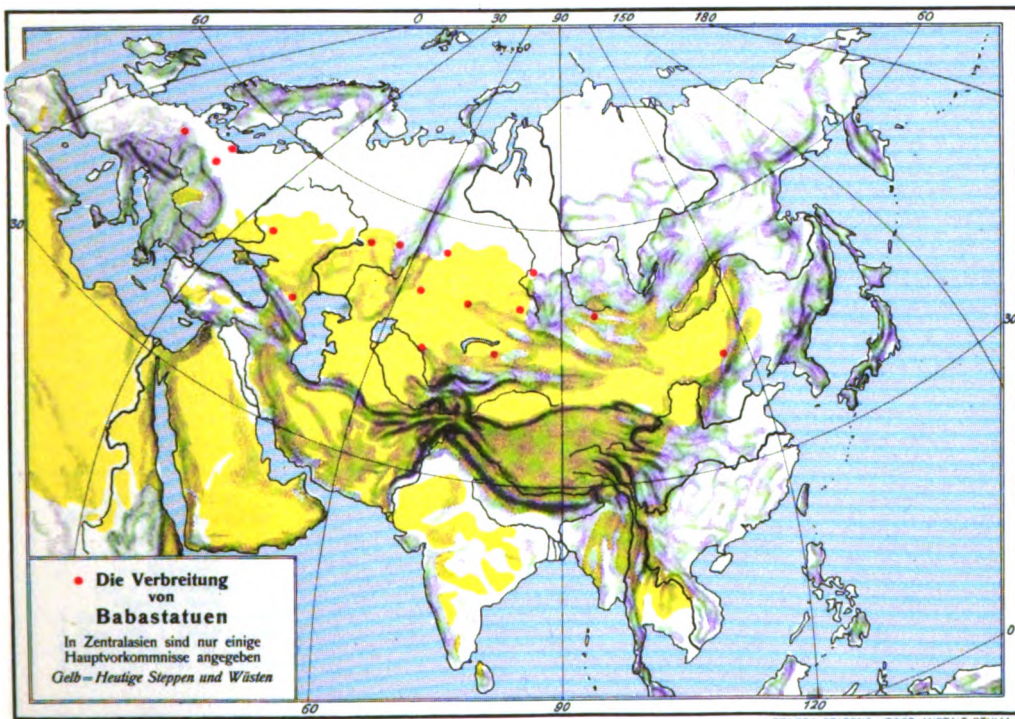
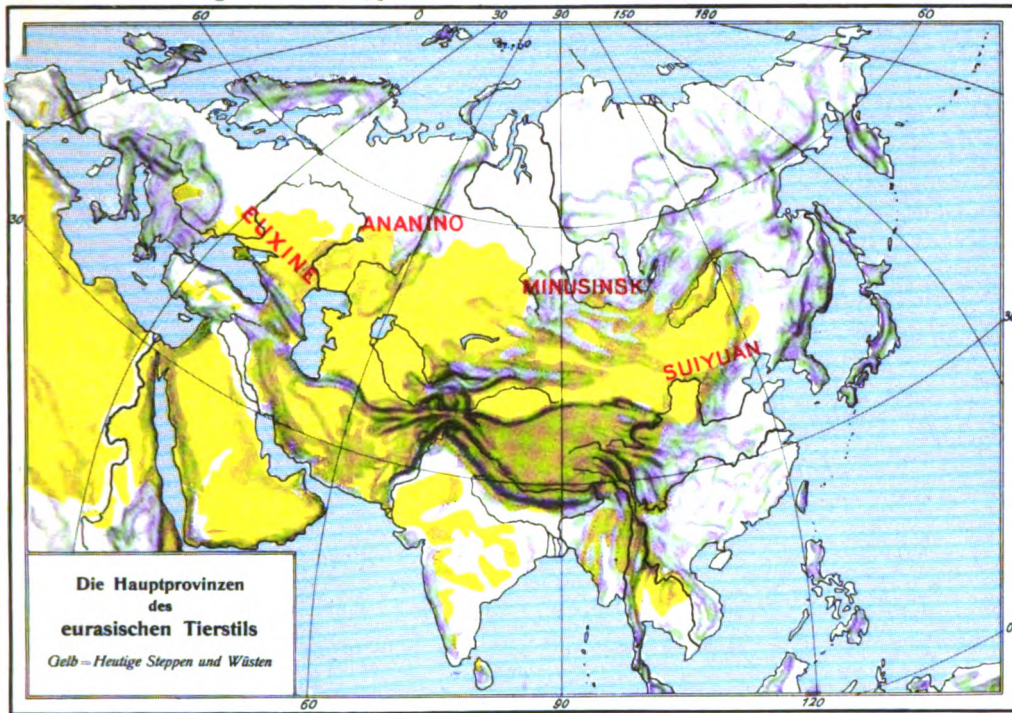
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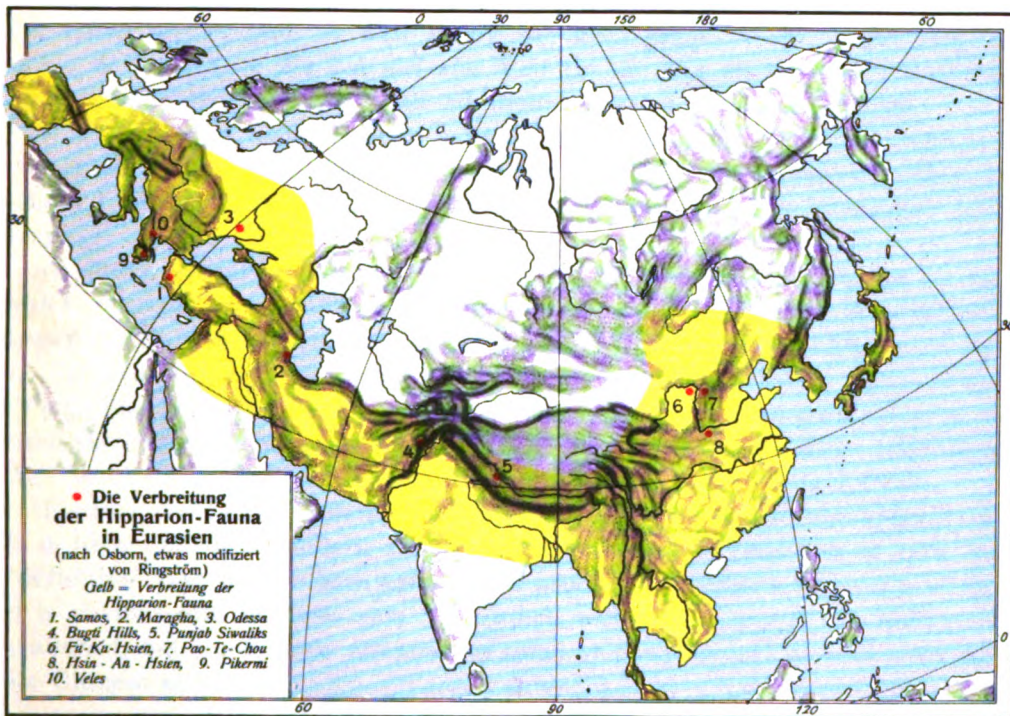
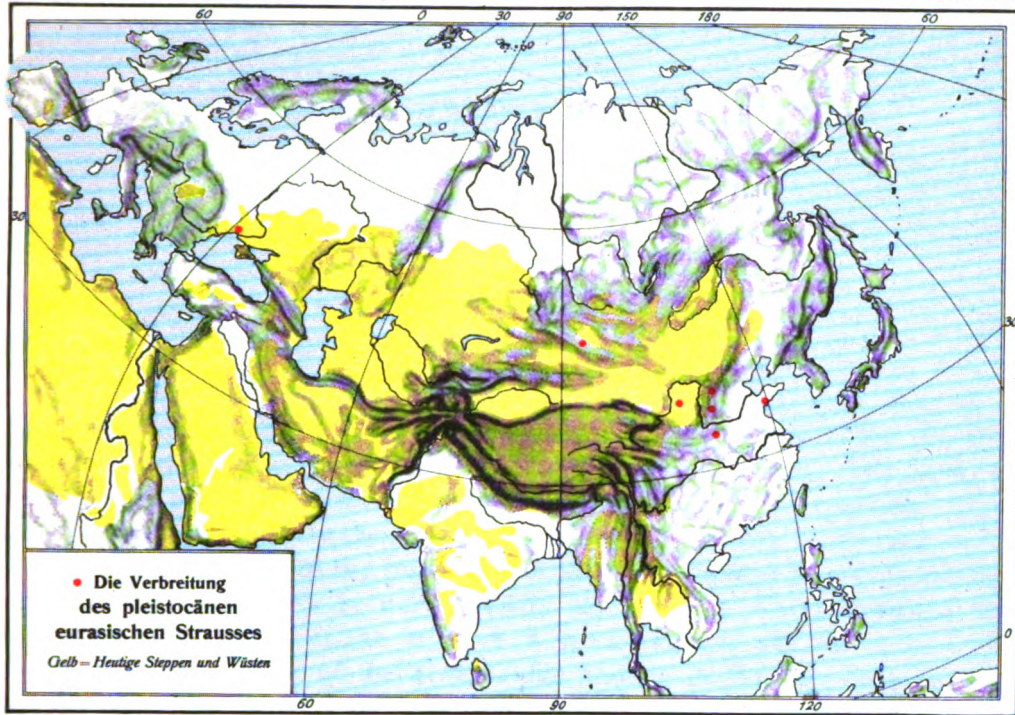


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Suiyuan-Bronzen.

Fig. 1. Aus der Hallong Osso-Gegend in der südlichen Mongolei. Fig. 2—3 in Peking gekauft.





GENERALSTABENS LITOGR ANSTALT STHLM

THE AUTHENTICITY OF ANCIENT CHINESE TEXTS

BY

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The vicissitudes which the ancient Chinese documents have had to go through in being handed down in necessarily few manuscripts in the course of many centuries made the Chinese scholars realize, at a very early date, the necessity of trying to verify whether they were authentic or spurious. In the time of the T'ang dynasty there were keen observers like Liu Tsung-yüan, and in that of the Sung dynasty the researches of this kind resulted in a well-developed scientific movement. There were scholars like 吳公武 Ch'ao Kung-wu (12th century A. D.), author of the 郡齋讀書志 *Kün chai tu shu chī*, 高似孫 Kao Si-sun (12th c.), author of the 子略 *Tsi lüe*, and 陳振孫 Ch'en Chen-sun (13th c.), author of the 直齋書錄解題 *Chī chai shu lu kie t'i*, who really laid the foundations of this science. Their results were resumed and completed during the Ts'ing period, by the learned editors of the Imperial Book Catalogue *Sī k'u ts'üan shu tsung mu t'i yao*, as well as by the keen critic 姚際恆 Yao Tsi-heng in his 古今偽書考 *Ku kin wei shu k'ao* (in the *Chī pu tsu chai ts'ung shu*), recently republished (1924) with additional notes (考辨 *k'ao shī*) of 金受申 Kin Shou-shen. I mention these works only as examples. Various problems of authenticity have been discussed, more or less ably, by scores of philologists, whom I cannot name here — indeed, it is not my intention to make a bibliography.

All these critical studies have shaken the faith in a good number of texts, which were earlier considered to be genuinely ancient. It might be said that at present a kind of equilibrium has been reached: the Chinese scholars of today on the whole accept the results arrived at by the researches from Sung to Ts'ing time, and consider the matter closed. European sinologues are also very often satisfied with repeating the verdicts of the Chinese philologists, and consider their results as definitive, without entering into the details of their proofs.

However, the Chinese scholars have worked with criteria of very unequal value. It is high time that modern sinologues looked into the question of how those "definitive" results have been gained, and proceed to a thorough revision of them. It is obvious that the tests vary very much with the nature of the works to be examined, but I will draw attention to some of the principal criteria adduced by the Chinese scholars.

1.

By historical data in the text is fixed a terminus ante quem non. E. g.: The well known work *Mao Shī niao shou ts'ao mu ch'ung yū* (Birds and beasts, insects and fishes in the *Shī king*) has been ascribed to 陸 璣 Lu Ki of the San kuo, Wu kingdom (222—280 A. D.); but Ch'en Chen-sun (*Wu ying tien tsū chen pan* edition, *kūan* 2, p. 12 b) points out that the text contains various quotations from the commentary of Kuo P'o (276—324 A. D.) on the Er-ya. Hence it must be later than Lu Ki. Another example: The old tradition that the great minister Kuan I-wu (Kuan Chung) of Ts'i (died 645 B. C.) was the author of the work *Kuan-tsī* is disproved (as pointed out by Ye Cheng-tsê, quoted by Yao Tsi-heng) by the fact, that the text mentions the famous beauty Si Shī presented to king Fu-ch'ai of Wu (who ruled 495—473 B. C.), and some similar data from late Chou time. Anachronisms of this kind are really first-rate criteria, and the Chinese scholars, thanks to their thorough knowledge of ancient literature, have been able to use this method of proof extensively. It is infallible as far as it goes. But it must be remembered that it proves only the age of the passage in question, not of the whole text. A single case of this kind may be an interpolation. Many cases in a text is damning proof.

2.

Quotations in ancient books (e. g. Han period or Liu-ch'ao period works) from a Chou text are not to be found in the modern version of this Chou text: then the latter is spurious. A splendid example of this is the chapter *T'ai shī* in the *Shu king*. Kiang Sheng has (*Huang Ts'ing king kie* k. 394) pieced together all the ancient quotations from the *T'ai shī* and obtained quite a long chapter. This is radically different from the *T'ai shī* of the traditional *Shu king* as officially accepted from the T'ang period onwards. This proves conclusively the "orthodox" *T'ai shī* to be a fraud. This criterion is extremely important, but, here again, only so far as it goes. Ch'en Chen-sun (k. 3, p. 6a) suspects the *Ch'un ts'iu fan lu* of Tung Chung-shu (2d c. B. C.) because some quotations in the encyclopaedias *T'ung tien* by Tu Yu (d. 812 A. D.) and *T'ai p'ing yū lan* (10th c.) are not to be found in the extant version. But there are certain reasons for believing (cf. 7 below) that parts of this work have been lost. The passages in *T'ung tien* and *T'ai p'ing yū lan* may have been taken from the lost chapters, and here Ch'en's argument is by no means conclusive.

3.

The contents of the work are 淺陋 *ts'ien lou* "shallow and vulgar"; hence the work must be a forgery! Curious and naive though this criterion may seem, it has been largely resorted to in Chinese critical

literature. It is, for instance, the sole reason for which Ch'en Chen-sun concludes that the *Sin shu* of Kia I (2nd cent. B. C.) which we now possess is not Kia's original work. Sometimes ludicrous conflicts of opinion will result from this method of judgment. The book of the philosopher Ho Kuan-tsī is highly praised by the famous T'ang essayist Han Yü (collected works in *Sī pu ts'ung k'an*, k. 7, p. 11 b), but is declared to be *ts'ien lou* "shallow and vulgar" and hence dubious by his contemporary, the almost equally famous Liu Tsung-yüan (coll. works, *Sī pu ts'ung k'an*, k. 4, p. 7 a). It is high time that this criterion was definitely eliminated from the discussions on authenticity.

4.

The literary style of the work does not give the impression of its being ancient; therefore the work is spurious. This reasoning, almost as arbitrary as the last, is often met with. The whole of Ch'en Chen-sun's criticism (k. 2, p. 4 b) of the 周 書 *I Chou shu* (*Ki chung Chou shu*), unearthed in 281 A. D., amounts to this: "The style 文 辭 is not similar to that of ancient books: it seems to have been done in imitation by a man dating from after the *chan kuo* ('warring states', 3d c. B. C.)." It is surely admissible to draw conclusions from the literary style of a work, but then it is not sufficient to give vent to an arbitrary personal impression; one has to show which peculiarities of style are decisive. These arbitrary judgments, too common in critical literature, should be totally disregarded.

5.

The data given by later editors or commentators about the author of the work can be shown to be false: hence the work is a fraud! This wonderful logic is sometimes met with in criticism. A philosopher Yin Wen-tsī is mentioned in the *Han shu* (chapter *I wen chī*, which is identical with the catalogue 七 略 *Ts'i lüe* by Liu Hsiang, d. 9 B. C., and his son Liu Hin). A certain 仲 長 統 *Chung-ch'ang T'ung* (about 200 A. D.) wrote a preface, stating that Yin Wen-tsī lived during the reign of king Sūan of Ts'i (455—405), and studied with the philosopher Kung-sun Lung. Ch'ao Kung-wu shows that this is impossible, as king Sūan and Kung-sun Lung were not contemporaneous. And the critic 宋 景 文 公 *Sung King-lien* gives reasons for believing that even this preface is spurious, adding: "Alas! Why should it be only the preface that is spurious!" (ap. Yao Tsi-heng, new ed. p. 21 b). It is certainly interesting to learn that the old traditions about the authorship of the work are erroneous, but as nothing in the work itself claims such an origin, it is difficult to see how this can invalidate the text.

6.

The data about the handing down of the text, pieced together from various sources, show such gaps that one must suspect a late forgery. This method of tracing the adventures

of a text through the ages has been applied with much skill by the Chinese philologists and has given valuable results. The philosopher Kuan Yin-tsī (cf. Ch'en Chen-sun, k. 9, p. 21 b) is first mentioned in the *Han shu*, *I wen chī* (= *Ts'i lüe* of Liu Hiang and Liu Hin). Then the great book inventories of the *Suei shu*, the *Kiu T'ang shu* and the *Sin T'ang shu* never mention it, and it is only in Nan Sung time (1127—1279) that it pops up again in the family of a certain 孫 廷 Sun Ting, with introductory information that it was edited by Liu Hiang and with a preface by 洪 興 宗 Ko Hung (4th cent. A. D.). That it is a forgery is almost certain. Still more interesting is the fate of the 康 誥 K'ang Ts'ang-tsī, alleged to be a Chou period work. Already Liu Tsung-yüan had remarked that the *Shī ki* of Sī-ma Ts'ien (*Chuang Chou lie chuan*) mentions a *K'ang Ts'ang-tsī*, but that Liu Hiang and Pan Ku (*Han shu*, *I wen chī*) knew nothing of it, and that the present version is probably spurious. Now, the Sung scholars (Ch'ao, Ch'en and Kao mentioned above) are able to tell us the whole story. In the year 742 A. D. the Emperor assigned some fine titles to taoistic works: *Nan hua chen king* to Chuang-tsī, *Ch'ung hū chen king* to Lie-tsī, and 洞 玄 經 *Tung ling chen king* to K'ang Ts'ang-tsī. A search was then made for copies of the K'ang Ts'ang-tsī, but none could be found! Then, in order to meet the imperial demand, a scholar 王 仲 良 (王) Wang Shī-yüan presented a copy, evidently made for the purpose. And the editors of the *Sī k'u ts'üan shu tsung mu* point out, that Mr. Wang himself, in a preface to the collected works of Meng Hao-jan (*Si pu ts'ung k'an* ed., introd. p. 2 a) admits that he has 仿 造 "put in order" the K'ang Ts'ang-tsī. Cases like these are very convincing, but the method must be handled with care. The following example is given as a warning. Concerning the philosopher *Kung-sun Lung-tsī* Yao Tsi-heng (p. 22 a) says: "It is recorded in the *Han chī* (i. e. the *I wen chī* of *Han shu* = *Ts'i lüe*) but not in the *Suei chī* (i. e. the bibliographical chapter of the *Suei shu*); what doubt can there be that it is spurious?" We again find the *Kung-sun Lung-tsī* already in the *Kiu T'ang shu* bibliography, so that Yao's verdict is based on its absence in *one* ancient catalogue! There is nothing astonishing in the fact that, in the work of one man, among hundreds of book titles one has been skipped; — take, for instance, the dictionary *K'ang-hi tsi tien*, written by a great committee of scholars, a work to which Wang Yin-chī has had to write a list of corrections filling seven stout volumes!

Closely related to this criterion is the following:

7.

The number of sections (篇 *p'ien*) or books (卷 *küan*) is not the same in the various old sources, especially catalogues; therefore the work has been tampered with, added to or even concocted. This is a favourite argument of the Chinese critics, and it must be emphasized that it has been terribly abused. A glaring example

is the following in Yao Tsi-heng (p. 23 b), in his discussion on the philosopher 申子 *Shen-tsi*: "The *Han chī* (*Han shu* bibliogr.) has a *Shen-tsi* in 24 sections; the *T'ang chī* (*T'ang shu* bibliogr.) has a *Shen-tsi* in 37 sections. Now there are only 5 sections. We can understand that it must be spurious." Yao seems unable to realize that parts of a work can be lost — in China, where this has been the fate of quite half the ancient literature! I would not mention such foolish argumentation but for the fact that Yao's work enjoys great renown in China and is recommended by Chang Chī-tung in his *Shu mu ta wen*. More serious would seem to be this remark of the same Yao (p. 23 b) about the philosopher Ho Kuan-tsi: "The *Han chī* (*Han shu* bibliogr.) has only 1 section (*p'ien*). The *Ho Kuan-tsi* studied by Han Wen-kung (the famous Han Yü, d. 824 A. D.) had 19 sections. *Sī k'u shu mu* (the Imperial Ts'ing catalogue) has 36 sections. How is it that successive epochs have an ever larger number of sections? Would it not be likely that the original had but few, and that the rest were added by later men?" But this criticism is equally void of value. In the first place, the *Sī k'u shu mu* says nothing about 36 sections. From the *Suei shu* onwards the work has 3 *kūan* books. Han Yü seems to have read an incomplete version in 16 sections (*p'ien*) (this is falsely corrected to 19 *p'ien*, when mentioned in his collected works, see *Sī k'u shu mu* k. 117, p. 10 a), but Lu Tien, a Pei Sung man, edited it in 3 *kūan* and 19 sections — the present arrangement. Of the 19 *p'ien* some are very short, and the whole of the present work has about the same length as one of the larger sections (*p'ien*) in the *Shī ki* (e. g. *p'ien* 39); hence the "1 section" of the *Han shu* bibliography.

Sometimes, however, such figures may look serious. There is, for instance, the *Ch'un ts'iu fan lu* by Tung Chung-shu (cf. 2 above). The *Suei shu* bibliography and the *T'ang shu* bibliography have 17 *kūan*, and the 宋 史 藝 文 志 *Ch'ung wen tsung mu* (11th century) has 82 *p'ien*. But the 宋 史 藝 文 志 *Chung hing kuan ko shu mu* (1178 A. D.) has only 10 *kūan*, and a 宋 史 藝 文 志 *p'ing hiang* edition has only 37 *p'ien*. Now, says Ch'en Chen-sun (k. 3, p. 5 b) "our present (Sung) version" (by 宋 史 藝 文 志 Lou Yo; it is this one, saved through the *Yung-lo ta tien*, that is reproduced in the *Sī pu ts'ung k'an*) "has again 17 *kūan* and 82 *p'ien* — it cannot be the original work of that [ancient] time".

In order to find out how far imputations of this kind really are serious, let us make a test with a well-known authentic work, say the Mencius! To my knowledge it is generally accepted as quite above suspicion. It is considered genuine even by Hu Shī, who, as a matter of fact, in his *Chung kuo chē hūe shī ta kang* condemns almost the whole pre-Han literature as spurious. The Mencius is mentioned as early as in Si-ma Ts'ien's *Shī ki* (*Meng-tsi Sūn K'ing lie chuan*, k. 74 p. 1 a): "He (Mencius) made the *Meng-tsi* in 7 *p'ien* (sections)." But when we come to the *Han shu*, *I wen chī* (= the *Ts'i lue* of Liu Hiang and Liu Hin) we find: "*Meng-tsi*, 11 *p'ien*". That this figure 11 is not a *lapsus calami* but that a version in 11 sections actually was current in Han time is proved by the *Feng su t'ung i*

of Ying Shao (2d c. A. D.) who (k. 7, p. 3 a in the *Sī pu ts'ung k'an* ed.) says: "Mencius" made a book, two parts (*chung wai*) in 11 sections (*p'ien*)." Then, however, Chao K'i (d. 201 A. D.), the first great editor and commentator of Mencius, says: "He wrote a book in 7 sections", and the work is so divided in his edition, which is the standard one up to this day. If we were to apply Yao Tsi-heng's principles, we ought to exclaim: "The *Han chī* has 11 sections, Chao K'i has only 7 sections; we can understand that it must be spurious!" And if we were more modest, we should say, in imitation of Ch'en Chen-sun: "The *Shī ki* has 7 sections, the *Han chī* and *Feng su t'ung i* have 11 sections; Chao K'i, again, has only 7 sections — it cannot be the original work of Mencius", it must have been first added to, and then rearranged, so as to make good the figure 7 of Sī-ma Ts'ien! But neither Ch'en Chen-sun, nor the *Sī k'u shu mu*, nor Yao says anything at all about this divergence. Chu I-tsun in his well-known 皇 極 經 世 *King i k'ao* cites judgments passed on Mencius by 41 of the most famous critics and scholars through the ages, and nobody even hints at this discrepancy. Why should the difference of *p'ien* figures in the old sources not be adduced against the authenticity of Mencius, when it is a standard criterion against other works? One might ask: How, then, is this discrepancy of 7: 11 *p'ien* in the Mencius tradition really to be explained? I would answer: I do not know, and I do not care. In a country like China, where literature has had to be handed down for a millennium and a half by manuscripts on bamboo and wood, on silk, on paper, it is a wonderful testimony to the love and care of the Chinese bookmen that the literature has come down to us in unaltered arrangement as often as it has. Re-arrangements, and the cutting up of sections and books are really nothing astonishing, all the more so as, even in ancient works (e. g. *Shī ki*), a "section" (*p'ien*) is sometimes 2 or 3 pages, sometimes 20 or 30. The number of *kūan* or *p'ien* in the ancient catalogues, therefore, is a very risky criterion, which can only be applied in absolutely flagrant cases.

8.

The text under examination quotes a text that is proved and known to be spurious; hence it is spurious itself. Kin Shou-shen in his edition of the *Ku kin wei shu k'ao* (p. 12 b), in discussing the *Kia yū* "Family sayings" of Confucius, points out that a certain passage in the *Kia yū* is to be found in the *Lie-tsi*, and he adds: "As we know now that *Lie-tsi* was composed after Liu Hsiang, the *Kia yū* seems to be still later." Quite apart from the fact that the *Kia yū* has been long known to be false, whereas the *Lie-tsi* is probably not, this statement is interesting, because it puts the principle clearly: if the text A quotes or has a passage in common with a text B, and B is spurious (a pseudo-B), then A is also spurious. This argument is not uncommon. But the logically-minded will immediately ask: How do we know that the case is not inverted: the faker of the text B has made use of the authentic text A in concocting his pseudo-B? I will come back to this criterion presently.

9.

The text contains various passages that are to be found in other ancient works; therefore it is a later production, made up of those passages with addition of spurious matter. This is a very common argument. Yao Tsi-heng (p. 10 a), in discussing the *Hiao king*, adduces several passages which he thinks are copied from the *Tso chuan*, and concludes that the *Hiao king* was written, not by Confucius, nor even by a Chou or Ts'in man, but only when the *Tso chuan* had gradually become known in Han time.

The question how to judge parallel passages in ancient Chinese works is very delicate, and of extreme importance, because the handling of this problem in an arbitrary way has done great harm. Logically, as well as empirically, there are three ways in which an author can treat a passage which he borrows from an earlier work:

A. He can take it as it is, without altering it at all. Then there are two possibilities:

a. The passage is so different in type and language from his own work, that one can see at once that it is a loan, that he has taken it from an already existing work. This is the case, for instance, with several short passages in Mencius V, A, 1—3. On the whole, however, this is quite rare.

b. The passage does not either in type or language differ sensibly from the work in which it is inserted, and it is therefore impossible to say, by comparing the two texts, which is primary and which is secondary.

B. He can alter it here and there, so as to make it more or less a variation of the same theme. It is then, again, impossible to say, simply by comparing the two texts, which is primary and which is secondary.

C. He can paraphrase it and make it easier reading, substituting common words for rare and difficult ones, make the sentence less short and enigmatical. I have given, in my work *On the nature and authenticity of the Tso chuan*, 1926, p. 24 ff., a long series of examples in which Si-ma Ts'ien has borrowed from the *Tso chuan* by this paraphrasing method. In such cases it is easy to determine which is the primary text.

It ought to be obvious that it is only the cases mentioned under A, a and C that can be used for authenticity argumentation. The cases A, b and B are absolutely valueless in this respect and ought never to be resorted to for judgments such as that the author X has "copied" such and such passages from the author Y. This is arbitrary, unscientific and inadmissible.

It might be objected that when a text can be proved to have passages in common with a whole series of ancient works, then it must be a later concoction.

even though the parallels are only of the types A, b and B. Unfortunately this is also a false criterion, due to the fact that in the late Chou and Ts'in periods there existed a common stock of ancient lore, on which every author has freely drawn, without, as a rule, mentioning his sources. It is the same with many works of this period: whichever of them you take up, you will always find a considerable number of passages which it has in common with two or three or several other works of the same period. It is, as a rule, almost hopeless to try to determine, in the case of each passage, which text has the older version and which has the younger. In many cases the prototypes are evidently works now lost (and why not even oral sources, story-tellers, as in modern China?).¹⁾

I will give now a connected example, which will show the dangers of the three last criteria (7—9). It is a question of the *Kuan-tsi*. It has already been mentioned (under 1 above), that the oldest tradition as to Kuan I-wu (Kuan Chung) of Ts'i (d. 645 B. C.) being its author has been proved long ago to be untenable. The work cannot be older than late Chou time. That it is really a genuine document of that time seems to be the general opinion of the foremost scholars of China. Wang Nien-sun in his *Tu shu tsa chī*, Yü Yüe in his *Chu tsī p'ing i*, Sun I-jang in his *Cha i*, have devoted sections to the textual criticism of *Kuan-tsi*, and Hung I-süan and Tai Wang (張 賈) have written special works of the same kind about this author. Now, scholars like Wang, Yü and Sun are the very stars among the many brilliant philologists of the Ts'ing era, and they would certainly not have devoted their studies to a work which they suspected to be a late forgery. This big book is also of extreme interest, affording us insight into many curious sides of the early institutional life in China. And to the archaeologists it is of

¹⁾ In my *Tso chuan* study just cited I gave as a conclusion: "It is a genuine text, written by one man or by several men belonging to one and the same school and having one and the same dialect." This has given H. Maspero occasion to insist that this is to draw a conclusion that exceeds my premises (in *La Chine Antique*, 1927, p. 593 and in a very amiable review of my work in the *J. As.* 1928, p. 159 ff). I have, according to Maspero, only proved that the "compilers of the 3rd century B. C." have normalized grammatically the various documents which they have collected and compiled into this great history of China during the Ch'un-ts'iu period. The difference of opinion between Maspero and myself is indeed more imaginary than real. I could not possibly have been childish enough to believe that the writer of the *Tso chuan*, this enormous collection of data about persons and events, drew all his knowledge "aus der Tiefe seines Bewusstseins", without having previous written and oral sources to draw upon. What I mean, and what is clearly said in my conclusion, is that the writer or writers did not piece the cuttings and extracts together *raw*, but worked them up (*verarbeiteten*) into a literary product homogeneous in language and disposition — a masterpiece with an admirable personal touch, perhaps the grandest in the whole literature of ancient China. This was the only point that was of interest for the purposes of my investigations into the work's authenticity, and I had no reason for trying to trace any predecessors in the field.

prime importance, because it gives some data about the iron industry in North-eastern China (Ts'i) in the reign of prince Huan (685—643 B. C.). Section 81 (k. 24, p. 2 a in the *Sī pu ts'ung k'an* ed.) tells us how a State control and duty was imposed on the production of iron, which was needed by the farmers for plough-shares, hoes, sickles, sledges and scythes, by cart-wrights for axes, saws, wheel-naves, drills, chisels and wheels, by women for knives, awls, long and short needles. This means that iron was extensively used in the 7th century, and the iron-manufacture must have developed during long periods in earlier times. The figures in *p'ien* 77 (k. 23, 1 a), where Kuan Chung states that "the mountains that furnish copper on the earth are 467, and those that furnish iron are 3609" are symptomatic of the estimate of the proportion between the copper and iron industries.

If these traditions concerning the manufacture of iron in Ts'i early in the 7th century were written down in the 4th or 3rd century B. C., there is every reason to believe that they are essentially true, and in fact invaluable; but if they are concocted by a forger in recent times, they are of course worthless. It is therefore of the utmost interest, when H. Maspero in his great work *La Chine Antique* condemns the Kuan-tsī as "almost entirely a forgery of the 4th or 5th century A. D." (p. 295), and disregards it entirely in his extensive description of the institutional and economical conditions of ancient China, for which this work, if authentic, would have been one of the best sources. He writes (p. 585):

"There actually exists a work called *Kuan-tsī* in 24 *kūan* divided into 86 sections (of which about 10 are lost), which pretends to be the work of Kuan I-wu; but if it is not entirely a modern forgery, the ancient parts are buried in a mass of chapters probably concocted in the 4th or 5th century of our era:

"It cites (k. 5, p. 6 a) the 夬 夬 *T'ai shī*, a spurious chapter of the *Shu king*, in the wording of the forgery of the 3rd century,

"it copies the *Tso chuan*, 386, preserving even its chronology of the Lu princes, absurd for a minister of Ts'i, etc.; the forger has inserted among the texts that are of his own making some passages of the *Tso chuan*, the *Kuo yū*, the *Shī ki*. This work already existed under the T'ang, as shown by quotations from that period, and a division into 19 *kūan*, in the *Suei shu* only, probably means merely a different arrangement of the sections.

"At its head had been placed a report by Liu Hiang of his revision of the text in the 1st cent. B. C., which is entirely apocryphal, for it already mentions the 86 sections of the modern work, whereas the authentic catalogue of Liu Hiang knew only a *Kuan-tsī* in 18 sections (commentary *Cheng-i* by Chang Shou-tsie to the *Shī ki*, k. 62, p. 2 b); this passage shows that in the *Ts'ien Han shu*, k. 30, p. 12 a (i. e. the *Han shu*, *I wen chī* = Liu Hiang's *Ts'i lūe*) the figure "86 sections" is due to an interpolation under the influence of the modern forgery."

It is easily seen that Maspero's three criteria fall under my above categories 8, 9 and 7 respectively. Let us examine his arguments.

In the first place (criterion of category 8) it is not quite true that Kuan-tsi "cites the *T'ai shī* in the wording of the forgery of the 3rd century". I think we had better place side by side three places where this *T'ai shī* passage occurs:

<i>Pseudo-T'ai shī</i> :	<i>Tso chuan</i> , Chao 24 <i>T'ai shī</i> yüe:	<i>Kuan tsī</i> , K. 5 <i>T'ai shī</i> yüe:
受有臣億萬。 惟億萬心。予 有臣三千。惟 一心。	紂有億兆夷 人。亦有離德。 余有亂臣十 人。同心同德。	紂有臣億萬 人。亦有億萬 之心。武王有 臣三千而一 心。

Anyone can see that Kuan-tsi does not reproduce the pseudo-*T'ai shī* exactly, but has several divergences in the direction of the *Tso chuan*. There is the name *Chou* as in *Tso chuan*, unlike the pseudo-*T'ai shī*; there is *jen*, "men", as in *Tso chuan*, unlike the pseudo-*T'ai shī*; there is *i yü* as in *Tso chuan*, against the *wei* of the pseudo-*T'ai shī*. All this cannot be mere chance. If the Kuan-tsi text were written by a faker, we must conclude that in the main he followed the pseudo-*T'ai shī* but modified it somewhat according to the *Tso chuan*. But why should he do so?¹⁾ He knew, or rather he thought he knew that the (pseudo-) *T'ai shī* was a part of the sacred *Shu king*, a document due to the great sage king Wu, more than 500 years earlier than the *Tso chuan* ("of Tso K'iu-ming"). Why should he make small alterations in the *Tso chuan* direction and so attract suspicion to himself, instead of slavishly following the sacred chapter? That is perfectly unreasonable.

The explanation of this textual problem is quite different and a very simple one. We know that the present *T'ai shī* ("pseudo-*T'ai shī*") is a forgery of the 3rd century A. D. But the forger had some knowledge of ancient literature and knew these two quotations (that of *Tso chuan* and that of *Kuan-tsi*) from the old authentic *T'ai shī*. Wishing to incorporate the passage in his own opus he had to choose between two rather seriously divergent versions of the text. What was the best thing to do? He knew, or he thought he knew, that Kuan-

¹⁾ Obs. It is not a question merely of a passage common to all three, but of a regular quotation, for both the *Tso chuan* and the *Kuan-tsi* have the introductory words *T'ai shī* yüe "the *T'ai shī* says".

tsi was from the 7th cent. B. C., whereas he dated the *Tso chuan* at the middle of the 5th century at the earliest. He chose to follow the older version. But as the wording of this was evidently something of a paraphrase, the subject being in the third person ("Wu wang, king Wu") instead of the *yü* "I" (first person) which the "Great declaration" necessarily demands, he introduced this detail from the *Tso chuan* version. Moreover, he made the style somewhat more terse and "Shu king-like". We here obtain an extremely interesting glimpse into the work-shop of the *Shu king* forger in the 3rd century A. D.!

Thus Maspero's first proof falls to the ground. It is not a case of: A quotes the spurious B, hence A also is spurious, but a case of: the forger of a pseudo-B makes use of the authentic A which contains a quotation from the lost authentic B. I would even go so far as to say that even if this were not unreservedly conceded, the mere possibility of this latter explanation as an alternative one makes Maspero's criterion (of category 8) worthless.

Maspero's second proof (criterion of category 9) against *Kuan-tsi* is the passages that are parallel to other ancient works. There are in fact some long passages at the beginning of *p'ien* 18 (k. 7) of *Kuan-tsi* which are to be found also in the *Tso chuan*, Huan kung, year 18 (694 B. C.) and Chuang kung, year 8 (686 B. C.; I suppose Maspero's figure 386 is a misprint and means this latter date). These are either word for word identical (cat. A, b above) or variations which do not reveal the priority of either version (cat. B above). There are even some curious differences, which do not make a direct loan from either side probable. A man called 申 蘇. Shen Sü in *Tso chuan* is called 申 兪 Shen Yü in *Kuan-tsi*. Where *Tso chuan* says (kip) 申 兪 來 之 "he captured and bound him", *Kuan-tsi* has (yip) 申 兪 來 之 "he broke and bound him" (does not this suggest a different writing down of something heard — a memorized text in a school? the discourse of a storyteller?). The chronological data do not agree — thus the Lu chronology is not followed. According to the *Tso chuan*, a complaint was made by Lu in the 4th month, according to *Kuan-tsi* in the 2nd. *Tso chuan* says that duke Siang of Ts'i hunted at Pei k'iu and saw a ghost in the 12th month, *Kuan-tsi* says it was in the 5th. It is true that both sources (*Tso chuan* not during the year 686 but during 685) indicate the "ninth year" (of duke Chuang in Lu) as the time of a murder in Ts'i. This is evidently what has seemed so suspicious to Maspero. But it must be observed that the same event is mentioned with the words "the ninth year" not only in the *Tso chuan* but also in the *Ch'un tsiu*. Now, if the *Kuan-tsi* had been a book written by the Ts'i minister Kuan I-wu in the 7th century, this date "the ninth year" would have been absurd, as Maspero says. But since we are already aware that it is a partly historical, partly philosophical work from the late Chou period, written by an unknown author, there is nothing very striking in the fact that he happens to mention an event as having taken place in the year given in the famous *Ch'un tsiu* of Confucius, then probably in the hand of every scholar.

Besides this parallel *Tso chuan*: *Kuan-tsi* I have examined a considerable number of passages which *Kuan-tsi* has in common with *Tso chuan*, *Kuo yü*, *Ch'un ts'iu fan lu*, *Han Fei-tsi*, and so far I have found no passage that clearly indicates the *Kuan-tsi* version as being secondary. Consequently, this test according to criterion 9 gives no decision.

Thirdly, Maspero employs criterion 7 (dubious variations in the number of sections) and in my opinion very unhappily. The whole question here turns on how many sections (*p'ien*) Liu Hsiang (d. 9 B. C.) has seen. We have 3 testimonies on this point: a) the preface of Liu Hsiang himself, which says 86 sections; b) the *Han shu*, *I wen ch'i*, 1st cent. A. D. (known to be identical with Liu Hsiang's own bibliography, *Ts'i lue*), which says 86 sections; c) a quotation in Chang Shou-tsie's work from the 8th cent. A. D., which says that Liu Hsiang's catalogue gave only 18 sections to the *Kuan-tsi*. As the first two testimonies are older by half a millennium and moreover agree with the 86 sections of the actually existing version, it ought to be clear that Chang Shou-tsie's quotation is wrong. But no! On the strength of this *one* statement in the 8th cent. A. D. Maspero declares *primo* that the Liu Hsiang preface is "entirely apocryphal"; *secundo* that the figure 86 in the *Han shu*, *I wen ch'i* is an "interpolation"; *tertio* that the whole of this goes to show that the modern version which also has 86 sections, is a forgery! It is impossible to accept this as a sound critical method. It emphasizes what I have said about the arbitrariness of conclusions by aid of criterion 7.

To sum up: *Kuan-tsi* may possibly be shown to be spurious by facts unknown to me; but the reasons adduced by Maspero have not invalidated its authenticity.¹⁾

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I have here enumerated and examined some of the most important criteria used by the Chinese philologists in testing the authenticity of the ancient texts. To these I added, some years ago (in the book *On the authenticity and nature of the Tso chuan*, 1926), another criterion, which can be applied in certain cases and which, in my opinion, is in such cases of paramount importance:

10.

The grammatical system of a text has certain peculiarities, which give it a character of its own, pecu-

¹⁾ I wish to emphasize that my opposition is only directed against a detail — though a fairly important detail — in Maspero's *La Chine Antique*. It is in other respects a work that I greatly admire, a splendid exposé of the latest stage reached in the research-work conducted into the history of ancient China, many of the most important results being due to the author's own brilliant researches; it is a tool indispensable not only to the beginner but also to every sinologue — in fact *the* book on ancient China.

liarities that could not have been imagined and imitated by a forger of later times; hence the text is authentic. I applied this test principle to the *Tso chuan*, one of the longest and most important of all the ancient texts, and I showed that in its use of the auxiliary words and the pronouns it is unlike every other known ancient document, and especially unlike the documents of the State of Lu (*Lun yū*, *Meng-tsi*, certain parts of the *Li ki*), with which one would have expected it to agree closely¹). I interpreted this phenomenon as evidencing that there were a series of different dialects in ancient China, and that the *Tso chuan* was written in one dialect and the Lu documents in another. Besides these two I determined several more dialects, characterized by different systems in regard to these grammatical words. The divergences in grammar are quite considerable and are by no means to be characterized as slight variations.

This interpretation of mine has been objected to by two scholars in reviews of my work: by A. Forke in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1928, p. 514, and by H. Maspero in the *Journal Asiatique* 1928, p. 159. Both claim to see a difference of style rather than a difference of dialects in the phenomena revealed by me. If their interpretation were true, it would seriously invalidate my criterion of authenticity. For whereas a dialectical difference is something tied to a certain place and a certain epoch, a passing phenomenon in a living language, and hence peculiar and hardly exposed to imitation (at least by people of later ages, who would scarcely even notice the peculiarities in the use of the grammatical words), a difference of style is something obtaining in a literary language, an artificial phenomenon, the essence of which is imitation. If the Chou people were already so strongly sensitive to literary style that they created diverging grammatical systems for different styles, then of course the men of Han would have been so too and would have been able to forge "true to style". It is therefore of the utmost interest to examine whether I am right in speaking of different Chou period dialects, or Forke and Maspero are right in speaking of different styles.

The two scholars have different points of departure. Forke is of the opinion that China has never had a literary language directly based upon the colloquial. Already in the Chou period it was artificial, unlike the spoken language. In a literary language there can be no dialects, only styles (*Stilgattungen*): the poetical style (*Shi king*), the prose style (*Shu king*, *I king*), the philosophical style (*Lun yū*, *Meng-tsi*) and the historical style (*Tso chuan*). Now, Forke's fundamental idea is obviously erroneous. It ought to be clear to any unbiassed reader that the dialogues of *Lun yū*, *Meng-tsi* and *Chuang-tsi*, the dramatically narrated episodes of the *Tso chuan* etc., are the purest possible reproduction of a spoken

¹) The test was applied to 若 and 如; 於 and 于; 焉, 矣 and 乎; 斯 in the sense of "then, thereupon"; 斯 in the sense of "this"; 于 as a preposition, 何 as an interrogative final. 及 in the sense of 與.

language. We can positively hear the speakers, with all their little curious turnings, anacoluthic sentences, exclamations etc. I go so far as to say that I believe even in the Han period the written language was not very far removed from the colloquial. There are often passages that are clearly intended to reproduce verbally what has been uttered, and they are nevertheless exactly what we call "literary Chinese". A curious example is *Shi ki*, k. 96, *Chou Ch'ang lie chuan*, where the angry Chou Ch'ang, who was a stutterer, says: 不能言此臣期期知其不可 etc. *Ch'en k'ou pu neng yen, jan ch'en... k'i... k'i... chi k'i pu k'o* "Your servant's mouth cannot speak, but your servant... k'i... k'i... knows that it won't do". It ought to be evident to anybody that the stutterings *k'i. k'i...* would not be inserted into a "literary, non-colloquial" sentence. Hence the phrase *chi k'i pu k'o*, which to us makes a strongly literary impression, was colloquial in the Han period. It is unnecessary to dilate further on this.

Maspero reasons somewhat differently: The *Chu shu ki nien* (from the State of Wei) is very much like the *Ch'un ts'iu* (from Lu). Therefore there are no dialectical differences expressed in the literary documents, but only styles: historical language (*Ch'un ts'iu*, *Chu shu ki nien*), historical-novel language ("Langue de romans", *Tso chuan*, *Kuo yü*), philosophical language (*Lun yü*, *Meng-tsi*, *Chuang-tsi*), documentary language (*Shu king*, *I Chou shu*), poetical language (*Shi king*). This is, according to him, more plausible than to suppose dialectical differences without any important differences of vocabulary. The work *Fang yen* shows that in the Si Han period the differences of vocabulary were considerable. It is true that this was a few centuries later, but that could not have sufficed to make the dialects diverge so much more than in the Chou period.

In the first place, the *Chu shu ki nien* argument is worthless. Both the *Chu shu ki nien* and the *Ch'un ts'iu* are written in so terse a language — they are mere archive entries — that they have practically no grammatical auxiliaries; nothing can be concluded from them. But let us first examine the probability — and the truth — of the style theory, and then come back to the dialect problem.

Is it likely that in the ancient China of the middle and late Chou period, from which we know of only a score of literary products, when the Confucian aphorisms still show evident traces of being colloquial utterances with difficulty turned into connected writing — is it likely that there had developed five (5!) different and fairly strictly observed literary styles, each characterized by a system of its own in the use of the auxiliaries and the pronouns? Let us try to realize what this would mean. A Mr. Li of the 4th cent. B. C. would have had a hard time if he happened to belong to the *literati* and had a *penchant* for writing. If he wrote a historical anecdote (something in the style of *Tso chuan*) he should use 若 *jo* and never 如 *ju* in the sense of "if", and *ju* (never *jo*) in the sense of "like, as". But if he should happen to moralize in the vein of Confucius and Mencius, he would have had to reverse the engine in regard to "if": always 如

ju, never 𠄎 *jo*; and as a compensation he would have been allowed, in the sense of "like, as", to use both *ju* and *jo* as he liked. Suppose, now, that the unfortunate Mr. Li had to compose a "document" — woe to him if he used 𠄎 *ju* at all! He would have to be very careful to write 𠄎 *jo* in both senses "if" and "like, as".

Again, if he philosophized about the Confucian virtues, he would have been free to use 𠄎 *sī* in the sense of "then, thereupon". But if he ogled at Chuang-tsi and started writing about Tao, he would have had to take very good care to cut out his *sī*'s and always use 𠄎 *tsê*. True, both Confucius and Chuang-tsi are brought in under "philosophical language" by Maspero, but as Confucius and Mencius frequently use *sī*, but Chuang-tsi never (there are also other differences), we evidently have to subdivide the "philosophical language" into two: one "Confucian philosophical language" and one "taoistic philosophical language"! If poor M. Li is not crazy by this time, he has to toddle along on the rugged path of "stylistic" knowledge. When philosophizing he can use 𠄎 *hu* and 𠄎 *yū*¹ — "in, at" and 𠄎 *yū*² as a final interrogative particle as much as he likes, but he is not allowed to use 𠄎 *yū*². If he composes a "document" he has to beware of both 𠄎 *hu* and 𠄎 *yū*¹ and always use 𠄎 *yū*², and he would hopelessly lose face if he were to write a final 𠄎 *yū*². If however he indulges in a historical anecdote, while 𠄎 *hu* and final 𠄎 *yū*² are equally forbidden, 𠄎 *yū*¹ can be used, but preferably in the sense of "with, auprès de", and 𠄎 *yū*² in the sense of "in". — I could go on, but is it worth while? The whole style theory as an explanation of the different systems of auxiliaries obtaining in the various ancient texts is so obviously unreasonable.

But we can turn the question round and try to discover whether the style theory is true. Did a "philosophical language" exist? Take e. g. Mencius, Chuang-tsi, Sün-tsi and Han Fei-tsi, four philosophers who were practically contemporaneous (later half of the 4th — middle of the 3rd cent. B. C.) and whose works are very similar in type and content. They should all have the same grammar, if the style theory were true. But I have already pointed out that Chuang-tsi is unlike Mencius (and other Lu texts) in not using 𠄎 (in any of its two common senses "then" and "this"); furthermore, the former frequently uses the final interrogative 𠄎 *ye*, unknown in the Lu texts. This *ye* also occurs in Sün-tsi and Han Fei-tsi. The final *yū*², so common in the Lu texts, is very rare in Chuang-tsi and Sün-tsi and does not exist in Han fei-tsi. So there was no "philosophical language".

The *Kuo yū* has a grammar very similar to that of the *Tso chuan* (though there is one important deviation). Now, the *Chan kuo ts'ê* is practically contemporaneous with the *Kuo yū*, and so similar to the latter in content and type that it might well have been written by the same author — were it not for the fact that their grammars (systems of auxiliaries) disagree so widely! *Kuo yū* has a functional difference between 𠄎 *yū*¹ and 𠄎 *yū*²; it has frequently 𠄎 *ki* in the

sense of "and, together with", it has no final 𠄎 *ye*. *Chan kuo ts'ê* has almost exclusively 𠄎 *yū*¹, it has practically no 𠄎 *ki*, but a fair number of final 𠄎 *ye*. The preposition *hu* is often met with in *Chan kuo ts'ê*, never in *Kuo yū*. So there was no "langue de romans" (to which Maspero refers the *Kuo yū*).

Again, the extensive rituals are not even mentioned by Forke and Maspero. It is also impossible to force them into any one of the "styles", for the various ritualistic documents differ greatly in grammar (cf. my *Tso chuan* study p. 56). As a matter of fact, the whole of this "style" theory, brought forward in reviews of my work on the *Tso chuan*, is contradicted and disallowed by facts already adduced in the work reviewed.

Is it likely, then, that the grammatical differences between the ancient texts have to be explained as being due to different dialects? Maspero's objection that there ought to be a difference in vocabulary as well is highly interesting and seems very striking.

Let us first define what we mean by the term dialects. I do not have in view here "des patois", the *t'u hua* dialects of the Chinese peasant villages, dialects of the lowest social strata, but dialects of the type of the ancient Greek dialects, or, to take a nearer example, dialects as represented by the languages of an educated Shanghai man and an educated Pekinese. Something of that kind would reasonably have represented the difference between the languages of the *literati* in Lu, Chou, Wei, Ts'i etc., independent centres of civilization and learning, isolated from each other by political and geographical barriers (the marshes and forests, and the wild tribes living even in the centre of China made communication difficult). If we compare the languages of the educated Shanghai man and the Pekinese, we shall find that there are three points on which they differ: 1) grammar (auxiliaries and pronouns); 2) vocabulary; 3) pronunciation (the same word being pronounced differently in the two dialects). But as soon as it ceases to be a question of *t'u hua* (which the *Fang yen* probably had in view) but becomes a question of educated language, one is struck by the fact, if one looks into, for instance, the excellent manual of Hawks Pott, *Lessons in the Shanghai dialect* (1920), that, whereas grammar (auxiliaries, pronouns) and pronunciation differ widely from the Pekinese, the vocabulary is largely the same; the words peculiar to one of the two dialects are comparatively few. We thus get the following scheme:

1. A considerable difference in grammar;
2. A considerable difference in pronunciation;
3. A slight difference in vocabulary.

How is it in the ancient Chinese texts?

1. The considerable difference in grammar (auxiliaries and pronouns) was revealed by me in my *Tso chuan* work.

2. The difference in pronunciation — to this I will revert presently.

3. The difference in vocabulary — is hardly noticeable, according to Maspero ("sans aucune différence importante du vocabulaire", J. As. 1928, p. 165).

Is this true? I do not think so. As far as I know, this question has never been examined, and without statistics nothing can be determined. Nobody believed there was any grammatical difference between the texts, until I showed that there was. It is questionable, however, whether we can ever obtain a satisfactory reply when it comes to the vocabulary. For determining the grammar of a dialect we need only a score of pages of text; for fixing its vocabulary we should need hundreds or rather thousands. *Lun yǔ*, *Meng-tsi* and *T'an kung* (*Li ki*) are sufficient for determining the Lu dialect grammar; for throwing light on its vocabulary they offer only fragmentary and hopelessly insufficient material. But even as things are, and badly placed though we may be, owing to the fact that the preserved documents are few and mostly short, we can, if we are careful observers, find traces of a distinct difference in vocabulary. *Chuang-tsi* e. g. is very peculiar in this respect. This is not the place for publishing my material on this subject, but I will give one single example. For the common notion "boat" *Chuang-tsi* has the word 舟 *ch'uan* (book 31, written by the disciples of the philosopher, see Maspero, *La Chine Antique* p. 490), the word now current in modern Chinese. None of the Thirteen classics (*Shi san king*), as far as I know, possesses this word, but they all regularly use 舟 *chou*, in the very frequent places in which "boats" occur in the texts.¹⁾ Thus, it is quite natural, and exactly what we should expect, that in comparing texts from different ancient dialects we are more struck by the difference in grammar than by the difference in vocabulary.

We are unfortunately unable to lay our hands on the differences in pronunciation in the ancient dialects, owing to the Chinese script. Just as today the dialectal divergences of *jī*, *ze*, *ōr*, *niat* etc. are hidden behind the ideograph 日, so it is in the ancient language. We have reasons for assuming the existence of considerable differences in pronunciation, but we have not yet been able to prove them. It is, however, of paramount importance, especially to palaeography, to know whether this assumption is true or not (whether in our researches in connection with the phonetic compounds we can reckon upon finding a uniform archaic language or not); and for our present problem — the dialectal interpretation of the grammatical divergences — it is equally important. Were the common words really pronounced differently in different cultural centres? I shall show that on some points at least we can penetrate the veil.

In the *Han shu*, k. 90, p. 13 b (*Kin ling shu kū* ed.) the commentator 韋 弘 Ju Ch'un (middle of the 3rd cent. A. D.) describes a pillar or signpost called 柱 *huan p'iao* (ancient pronunciation *yuán piāu*) and adds: "In the colloquial of

¹⁾ That *ch'uan* was a dialect word is confirmed by the *Fang yen*: "A *chou* boat is called *ch'uan* west of the passes (舟 船 舟 西)", i. e. Shensi.

陳 Ch'en and 宋 Sung, 桓 *yuân* has the sound of 和 *yuâ* (modern *ho*). Even now the 桓 夫 *yuân piâu* is called 和 *yuâ piâu*. That this was the case not only in the 3rd century but also earlier is seen from the *Tung king fu* (Wen sūan k. 3, p. 28 a, *Sī pu ts'ung k'an* ed.) of Chang Heng (d. 139 A. D.) where 和 *yuâ* occurs in the sense of *yuân* "sign post". This phenomenon, that *yuân* in some dialect or dialects "was read as *yuâ*" must have been well known also to the famous scholar Cheng Hsün (d. 200 A. D.), who believes this already to have been the case in the *Shu king* period. In discussing the *Yü kung* chapter he says (ap. *Shuei king chu*, k. 36, p. 2 a, *Sī pu ts'ung k'an* ed.) about the 和 夫 *Ho I* "I barbarians on the Ho (*yuâ*) river" (Legge p. 121) that "和 *yuâ* is to be read as 桓 *yuân*" and means the Huan river in *Sī-ch'uan*. Be this as it may, it seems certain that this dialect feature of the Han period already existed in the Chou period. For in the *I Chou shu* (*Ki chung Chou shu*) k. 8, p. 2 a (*Sī pu ts'ung k'an* ed.) 桓 *yuân* is undoubtedly used for and in the sense of 和 *yuâ* (桓 夫 和 夫). And this opens up a possibility for us to explain some very curious cases in the Chinese script, which so far have been a riddle, cases in which words in Ancient -*â* serve as phonetics in words in -*ân* or vice versa:

𣎵 *luân*: 𣎵 *luâ*; 𣎵 *puân*: 𣎵 *puâ*; 𣎵 *suân*: 𣎵 *suâ*; 𣎵 *kuân*: 𣎵 *kuâ*;
 𣎵 *p'iwûn*: 𣎵 *puâ*; 𣎵 *nân*: 𣎵 *nâ*; 𣎵 *tân*: 𣎵 *tâ*; 𣎵 *t'ân*: 𣎵 *tâ*;
 𣎵 *kân*: 𣎵 *kâ*.

These cases are rare and break the ordinary rules of the phonetic compounds; and thanks to Ju Ch'un we now *know* something which we might have suspected: they are due to a dialectal phonetic peculiarity. The nature of this is easy to see. The words in -*an* as well as in -*ang* have in a great number of Chinese dialects a strong tendency to nasalization. A *kan* (or *kang*) becomes *kaⁿ* and finally even *ka* with total loss of the -*n* (or -*ng*), see Karlgren, *Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise* p. 764—765. That this is an old feature has been shown by Pelliot in his clever identification of upadhyāya (in a modified Central Asian form) with Chinese 和 商 *ho-shang*, in the T'ang period *yuâ-d'iang*, still older *yuâ-d'iang*, where *d'iang* can render *dhyā* because of an ancient nasalization similar to the modern one in various Northern dialects. These nasalizations seem to have cropped up and flourished during longer or shorter periods throughout the phonetic history of Chinese, and it must be a dialectal nasalization: *yuâⁿ* etc. which explains the use of *yuâ* for *yuân* or vice versa as described above, as well as the character composition of those "exceptional cases". This is a reminder to us palaeographers not to force an explanation of every curious phonetic compound out of ideas of the "normal language" in archaic China; it seems certain that many anomalies in the script have their

secret in dialectal phonetism.¹⁾ And by this example we have shown that the Chou period language varied dialectally, not only in grammar and vocabulary but also in pronunciation. I have therefore, I think, every reason to adhere to my explanation of the grammatical peculiarities in the *Tso chuan* as being dialectal; and hence they remain an important criterion of authenticity.

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It is time that some good Chinese scholar brought together all that has been written about the authenticity of the Chou, Ts'in and Han period works. He should then proceed to eliminate all judgments based on the criteria 3, 4 and 5; to use the criteria 7, 8 and 9 only in the very rare cases where they are conclusive, and never employ them in the arbitrary way so common hitherto; to use the criteria 1, 2 and 6 as much as possible, yet without drawing conclusions wider than the premises allow; and to add criterion 10 in the cases in which it is applicable. He should then give us a new *Ku kin wei shu k'ao*.

¹⁾ Walter Simon, *Zur Rekonstruktion der altchinesischen Endkonsonanten* (offprint from the *Mitteil. Sem. Or. Spr. Berl.* 1928) p. 22 tries to explain cases like *nān*: *nā* above by supposing an archaic dental final, which he writes *ḍ* (fricative) in the second word: *nāḍ*, which dental would then have been lost before the Sui period (*Ts'ie yün*). This would then be a phenomenon of the whole language, not a dialectal feature. But this is impossible. In Ancient Chinese (*Ts'ie yün*, Sui period) the words in *-ā* and *-uā* are very numerous; the words in *-āt* and *-uāt* are also very numerous. If there had been some archaic *-āḍ*, *-uāḍ* among the former, there would, with absolute certainty, have been some cases of contact, in the phonetic series of the script (a *kā* < *kāḍ* serving as phonetic in a *kāt* or vice versa) or in the *Shi king* rhymes (a *kā* < *kāḍ* rhyming with a *kāt*). This never being the case, the theory is inadmissible. Archaic Chinese has certainly had words in *-ād*, *-uād* (*d* meaning here simply dental explosive of some kind), but these have become *-āi*, *-uāi* in Ancient Chinese, not *-ā*, *-uā*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS BASED UPON COLLECTIONS MADE WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE SWEDISH CHINA RESEARCH COMMITTEE

BY

FR. E. ÅHLANDER

At the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Swedish China Research Committee it has been considered advisable to compile a Bibliography of the publications which are based upon collections made with the support of the said Committee. This undertaking has been entrusted to Mr. Fr. E. Åhländer, librarian at the Town Library in Stockholm.

In this bibliography are included only such works which are directly connected with my collecting activities in China and the resulting collections. Consequently no notice has here been taken of the vast literature in the form of reviews and commentaries which has sprung up as a result of our own publications.

J. G. Andersson.

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- „ *Der Drache und die fremden Teufel*. [Translation.] — Leipzig 1927. In 8:o. 390 pp. With 2 pls, 207 text figs.
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- ANDERSSON, GUNNAR; HALLE, T. G.[:son]; LÖNNBERG, EINAR and WIMAN, CARL, Professor J. G. Anderssons vetenskapliga arbeten i Kina. En översiktlig redogörelse. 1—4. [The scientific activities of Professor J. G. Andersson in China. A general review.] — *Ymer*, Sthlm, Årg. 42, 1922, p. 129—163. With 10 text figs.

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 2. HALLE, T. G.[son], Insamling av växtfossil. [The collecting of plant fossils.] P. 141—150. With figs. 6—8.
 3. WIMAN, CARL, Insamlandet av ostasiatiska fossila däggdjur till "Överintendenten Axel Lagrelis samling", i Uppsala paleontologiska museum. [The collecting of fossil mammals.] P. 150—157. With figs. 9—10.
 4. LÖNNBERG, EINAR, Insamling av nutida ryggradsdjur. [The collecting of modern vertebrates.] P. 157—163.
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- „ Arkeologiska fynd i provinsen Kansu. [Archaeological discoveries in the province of Kansu.] — *Ymer*, Sthlm, Årg. 44, 1924, p. 24—35. With 9 text figs.
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